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NOTTINGHAM MEDIAEVAL STUDIES

Volume IV 1960

EDITORIAL

Like the launching of a ship the founding of a learned journal is an act of faith, faith in one's principles and purposes, faith in one's contributors, faith in one's friends and sympathizers as potential purchasers, and faith in one's printers.

In the winter of 1956, when the copy was being got together for Volume I of *Nottingham Mediaeval Studies*, the market for learned periodicals in the United Kingdom was in an unsettled condition. There was a movement of some urgency on foot to find more subscribers for *Medium Aevum* and *The Modern Language Review*, although, of course, those excellent journals, one then with twenty-five years and the other with forty-eight years of success behind it, were in no sense anxious. There was talk of *French Studies* being taken over by the Association of University Teachers of French, this largely, no doubt, as a matter of policy. Of *London Mediaeval Studies* nothing had been heard since 1951 and of *Leeds Studies in English* nothing since 1952. Glasgow's new *Archivum Linguisticum* was flourishing, and a number of older-established journals appeared as steady as a rock. As always, the continental picture was a reassuring one. There again, the older journals, *Romania* and the like, seemed to be doing very well. Under the wise and learned guidance of F. Masai, *Scriptorium* was in its tenth year and enjoying great success; equally successful were *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* in Helsinki, *Neophilologus* in Groningen, the *Rivista di letterature moderne e comparate* in Florence, and a host of others, certain of them, it is true, receiving financial help from U.N.E.S.C.O. For all that, one's friends were a little sceptical about the new venture. Would not a journal devoted to mediaeval studies prove at once too wide and too narrow in its interests?—too wide, since it aimed to cover literature, history, philology and linguistics, the history of painting and of music, religion and local history; too narrow since it limited its interests to the Middle Ages and yet hoped to get all its contributions from the senior members and the graduates of the University of Nottingham. Surely such a journal could hope to survive only if it had a society to back it, as the Society for the Study of Mediaeval Languages and Literature backs *Medium Aevum*, as the International Arthurian Society backs its own *Bulletin Bibliographique*

and as the Medieval Academy of America backs *Speculum*. Before going any further, would not the editor electus be wise to read again the anguished if noble *oraison funèbre* with which P. J. Rousselot and Jules Gilliéron buried their *Revue des patois gallo-romans*, or the last words of the editor of *Scrutiny*? In any case, said one's friends, would not the Scientific Deluge sweep it away? —Dixit ad Noe. Finis universae carnis venit coram me: repleta est terra iniquitate a facie eorum.

In effect, *Nottingham Mediaeval Studies* has strong and deep roots, and it has struck them in many parts of the world. For this in varying degree it has to thank its printers, its friends and sympathizers, its contributors, its purposes and principles. Volumes I, II and III appeared more or less punctually on 1 September 1957, 1958 and 1959; and it is hoped that the present volume will be on sale on the same date in 1960. The first three volumes contained 89, 131 and 108 pages of some 600 words each, and I estimate that Volume IV will have 112 pages of the same format. Of the nineteen authoritative articles printed in these four numbers all but three have as promised been by the staff, the research workers and the graduates of the University of Nottingham. The three invited articles have been by Professor F. A. G. Cowper, the editor of *Ille et Galeron*, and valuable inedita from the pen of Dorothy L. Sayers, the leading Dantist in the English-speaking world during the last half-century. Taken together, the four volumes have included eleven full-page plates on art paper, one folded map, four full-page figures and a number of smaller figures in the body of the text. Of the subjects treated twelve have been truly mediaeval, two pre-mediaeval, and the remaining five have dealt with matters of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries but which have roots stretching back to the Middle Ages. Among the humane journals now published in the United Kingdom none, it is claimed, is more attractive in appearance than *Nottingham Mediaeval Studies*, with its wide-margined 7 in. × 9½ in. pages set in Monotype No. 2 Series Old Style on special Dickinson cartridge paper. Finally, three-quarters of the copies printed of the first three volumes have been sold, and the remainder will no doubt go to meet a regular demand for back numbers.

Professor E. A. Thompson, who contributes the leading article to Volume IV, came to the University as head of the Department of Classics in 1948. In their own field Edward Thompson's books on Ammianus Marcellinus, Attila and the Huns and the treatise *De rebus bellicis* have long been standard works. His essay on *The Conversion of the Visigoths to Catholicism* forms a companion-piece to that on *Christianity and the Northern Barbarians* which he wrote for Volume I. Dr. Raymond I. Page, lecturer in English Language, who has adapted his critical examination of the runes on *The Bewcastle Cross* from a recent doctorate thesis entitled *The Inscriptions of the Anglo-Saxon Rune-stones*, is also well known to readers of the journal, for I published in Volume I his edition of the Drauma-Jóns saga. In an article called *Rodrigo Sánchez*

de Arévalo (1404–1470) *and his 'Compendiosa Historia Hispanica'* Robert B. Tate, who was appointed to the Chair of Spanish in the University in 1958, writes on one of the historiographers of fifteenth-century Spain. The article on *Local Style in Church Architecture in the Stour Valley*, by Miss Cora J. Ough, of the University library staff, is adapted from an M.A. thesis presented some years ago to the University of London. Mr. W. H. Hosford, who writes on *The Elizabethan Serfs of Long Bennington, Lincolnshire*, was a member of the Department of Extra-Mural Studies and Resident Organizing Tutor in Kesteven from 1936 to 1959. He has published a number of articles in *The Economic History Review*, taking his material, as in the present instance, from the towns and villages in which his adult education work lay.

LEWIS THORPE

THE CONVERSION OF THE VISIGOTHS TO CATHOLICISM

At the Third Council of Toledo, which opened on 8 May 589, during the reign of King Recared, Catholicism was proclaimed as the official religion of the Visigothic kingdom in Spain and Septimania (a strip of land stretching along the French coast from the Pyrenees to the Rhone with Narbonne as its capital).[1] The conversion of the Visigoths and other Germanic peoples from paganism to Arianism during the fourth and fifth centuries has been the subject of much discussion among scholars[2]; but the conversion of the Visigoths from Arianism to Catholicism has attracted less attention, and no narrative of the leading events has been published in English since R. Altamira wrote his chapter on "Spain under the Visigoths" in the second volume of the *Cambridge Medieval History*, originally published in 1913. This neglect is largely due, no doubt, to the scantiness of the evidence for the history of Visigothic Spain in general and for the conversion in particular. I do not claim that the reader who makes his way through the following pages will understand the nature of the conversion, its causes and implications, and why it took place at that date rather than sooner or later. Indeed, I shall end with a decided and explicit *non liquet*. But perhaps it may be useful to define some of the problems. A fresh narrative of what happened may help us to reach some provisional or partial conclusions; but a fuller understanding will only be possible when we know more than we do at present about the history of religion in western Europe from the fifth century to the eighth and about the fate of Roman civilization and its survival during that period.

I. The Arian Kingdom Before Leovigild

A pagan observer in the Visigothic kingdom would have noticed little of a ritual nature to help him to distinguish the Arian barbarian from the Catholic Roman. He would have noted that the Gothic services were conducted

Note: I use the following abbreviations: *MGH* = *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*; *NA* = *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*; Vives = J. Vives, *Inscripciones cristianas de la España romana y visigoda* (Barcelona, 1942). After references to the Chronicles I add in brackets the number of the volume and the page of T. Mommsen's *Chronica Minora* published in the *MGH*.

[1] On the name Septimania see Krusch's n. on Greg. Tur., *HF*, ii, 20.

[2] A fraction of the literature is cited in the footnotes of "Christianity and the Northern Barbarians," *Nottingham Mediaeval Studies*, i (1957), 3–21, at 12–9. On the conversion to Catholicism of the kingdom of the Sueves in Gallaecia *c.* 550–60, see C. W. Barlow, *Martini Episc. Bracarensis Opera Omnia* (Yale, 1950), 1 ff., but notice also p. 25 below.

in the Gothic language,[3] and that they took place before daybreak.[4] It was a custom of the Goths—or at any rate of the Ostrogoths—to provide a special communion cup for the royal family and a different one for the people in general.[5] In Visigothic Spain the Arian tonsure differed from the Catholic: only a small circulum was shaved on the head, and the hair was otherwise worn long like that of laymen.[6] The triple as well as the single immersion at baptism was recognized by the Catholic Church until it was noticed that the Arians of Spain immersed thrice. Pope Gregory the Great then recommended the Catholics to immerse once only.[7] But the Christological differences between Catholics and Arians were, of course, far-reaching.

It would be possible to exaggerate the political significance of the sectarian differences. It is true that when the Visigothic kingdom was attacked by the Catholic Franks in 507, the general population of their territories can hardly be said to have rallied to the support of the Visigoths. Indeed, Gregory of Tours says that "many" of the Gauls were anxious to have the Franks as their rulers, and he gives three specific examples, Quintianus bishop of Rodez, and Volusianus and Verus bishops of Tours, though he admits that tension arose between Quintianus and his fellow-citizens when the bishop was suspected of hoping for a Frankish victory.[8] But we cannot generalize from the attitude

[3] Catholic Goths in Constantinople sang the Psalms in Gothic: John Chrysostom, *Homilies* 2 and 8 (Migne, *PG*, lxiii, 472, 499), though it is not quite certain that *τῇ βαρβάρων* in the former sermon is a reference to Gothic—it is doubted, e.g., by J. Mühlau, *Zur Frage nach d. gotischen Psalmenübersetzung*, Diss. Kiel, 1904, 15–8. Observe that neither the title nor the text of the second of these homilies suggests that the Gothic presbyter read in Gothic or that the preacher preached in Gothic. But Theodoret, *HE*, v, 30, says explicitly that John found priests who could speak their language and that he himself often preached to them through an interpreter. The surviving fragment of the Gothic Church Calendar is in Gothic. For the Vandals see Victor Vitensis, *Hist. Persec.*, ii, 4, *quibus voluerint linguis*.

[4] Socrates, vi, 8, 1 f., Sidonius, *Ep.*, i, 2, 4. Cf. an incident in the life of St. Pamphilus, bishop of Sulmo and Corfinium in Lombard Italy, *c.* 677: *Vita S. Pamphili* in *Acta Sanctorum*, iii April 590, "consueverat a media nocte divinis officiis vacare, ac sacra facere non ultra ipsum diei exortum. quapropter plerique civium rem inique aestimantes, illum Ariani ritus apud pontificem Sergium criminantur." The bishop was summoned to Rome by the pope to account for his behaviour.

[5] Greg. Tur., *HF*, iii, 31. This and the references in the preceding note are cited by C. A. A. Scott, *Ulfilas, Apostle of the Goths* (Cambridge, 1885), 180, which is still the best English work on Gothic Christianity.

[6] IV Toledo 41 (Mansi, x, 630), where, however, H. Leclercq, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, xv, ii, 2440, takes the reference to be to the tonsure of the Priscillianists.

[7] IV Toledo 6 (Mansi, x, 618–20) = Greg. Magn., *Ep.*, i, 41, cf. Isidore, *de Vir. Illustr.* 40 (Migne, *PL*, lxxxiii, 1102 f.), Ildefonsus, *de Cognit. Bapt.* 117 (*ibid.*, xcvi, 160).

[8] Greg. Tur., *HF*, ii, 35, "multi iam tunc ex Galleis habere Francos dominos summo desiderio cupiebant," cf. 36, *Vit. Patr.*, i (Quintianus), *HF*, ii, 26, x, 31 §§ 7–8. As Quintianus was an African, he may have taken a more jaundiced view of Germans than many other bishops held. On the dates of the exile of Volusianus (495–6) and of Verus (*c.* 498) see W. von den Steinen, *Mitteilungen d. österreichischen Instituts für Geschichtsforschung*, xii, Erg.-Bd. (1933), 476. For the different attitudes of the citizens of Arles—Romans, Goths, and Jews—see *Vita S. Caesarii*, i, 29 (*MGH, SS. rer. Merov.*, iii, 433–501), where the account of the siege is somewhat suspect where it touches on the Jews: see J. Parkes, *The Conflict of the Church and the Synagogue* (London, 1934), 321, S. Katz, *The Jews in the Visigothic and Frankish Kingdoms of Spain and Gaul* (Cambridge, Mass., 1937), 114 f.

of these three bishops to that of the entire Catholic hierarchy of the Visigothic kingdom; and even if the entire hierarchy favoured the Franks, it would by no means follow that all the Catholics in the kingdom were pro-Frankish. On the contrary, Catholic Roman aristocrats fought and died for the Arian Visigoths in the battle against the Franks at Vouillé in 507,[9] and Arles held out for the Goths even after the defeat of 507 and withstood a long siege.[10] There is in fact no convincing evidence that the Catholics in the Visigothic kingdom tended in general to side with the Catholic Clovis, though some of the higher clergy were undoubtedly inclined to do so. It might be truer to say that the Roman landowners, who as a class had not been dissatisfied with the rule of the barbarian kings, gave considerable support to the Visigothic king Alaric II in 507, whereas the poorer classes had now lost their earlier enthusiasm for the conditions of life under Visigothic rule and stayed neutral in 507. Conversely, the Arian Burgundians helped the Catholic Franks against the Arian Visigoths in 507.[11] And when Catholicism became the official religion of the Visigothic kingdom in 589, Catholic Franks sided violently with the Spanish Arians who rebelled against Recared sooner than accept the new faith—and it is actually reported, as we shall see, that many Catholics in Spain itself joined them![12] Again, in 552 the Byzantines occupied two parts of the Iberian peninsula, a larger one centred around Cartagena, and a smaller one in Algarve. But when the Visigoths became Catholic in 589, the hostility which existed between Toledo and Byzantium is not known to have diminished: later Visigothic kings—Witteric, Gundomar, Sisebut, and Swinthila as well as Recared

Notice that Caesarius was once accused (falsely) of wishing to betray his city to the Burgundians at a time when the latter were still Arian, *Vita S. Caesarii*, i, 21. Greg. Tur., *HF*, ii, 23 *fin.*, says that "everyone" in the Burgundian kingdom wished to be ruled by the Franks, but he specifies only Abrunculus, bishop of Langres, who, he says, became suspect to the Burgundians, "cumque odium de die in diem cresceret" the bishop fled to Clermont Ferrand.

[9] *Ibid.*, ii, 37 (p. 88).

[10] Cassiodorus, *Var.*, iii, 32, *Vita S. Caesarii*, i, 28 ff. The hardships of the siege are mentioned by Caesarius himself, *Sermo*, lxx (ed. G. Morin, Corpus Christianorum, ser. Latina (1953), ciii, 297), on which K. F. Stroheker, *Der senatorische Adel im spätantiken Gallien* (Tübingen, 1948), 95, comments: "Als Römer aristokratischer Herkunft nahm er wie Apollinaris Sidonius und Avitus von Vienne gegenüber den Machtkämpfen der germanischen Reiche untereinander eine kühle und innerlich unbeteiligte Haltung ein." Note that not all the Arian clergy would seem to have fled from Gaul with the Visigoths in 507—some of them went over to Catholicism: *Concilium Aurelianense* (A.D. 511), canon 10. But towards the middle of the sixth century Arianism still survived in Gaul: see *Concilium Aurelianense* (A.D. 541), canon 8.

[11] *Vita S. Caesarii*, i, 28, cf. *Chron. Gall. a. DXI*, 689 (i, 665) "Tolosa a Francis et Burgundionibus incensa," *ibid.*, 690 "et Barcinona a Gundefade rege Burgundionum capta." But there is no valid evidence that the Catholics in the Burgundian kingdom betrayed their Catholic king to the Catholic Franks: the *Passio S. Sigismundi*, 8 (*MGH, SS. rer. Merov.*, ii, 337) carries no weight, as Krusch shows in his introduction to the text (*ibid.*, 329 f.). Greg. Tur., *HF*, ii, 37, omits to mention the co-operation of the Burgundians with the Franks at Arles in 507.

[12] *Vitas SS. Patrum Emeretensium*, v, 10, 2. This text has been edited by J. N. Garvin, Diss. Washington, 1946, from whose edition I quote it.

himself[13]—attacked the Byzantine possessions as energetically as their Arian predecessors had done. (Only the ephemeral kings Leuva II (601–3) and Recared II, who ruled for a few days in 621, failed to do so.) Moreover, Catholic Romans living in Visigothic Spain are not known to have co-operated politically or militarily with the Byzantines in the Arian period of the Visigothic kingdom. True, our sources for that period are very meagre, and the absence of reference to such co-operation hardly proves that it never took place. But we must argue on the basis of such evidence as exists, and what that evidence shows is that there was a great deal of co-operation on the part of Spaniards, including clergy, with foreign, Catholic powers *after* 589, that is, when the kingdom was Catholic, but not before that date when the kingdom was Arian. It is difficult, in fact, to follow those who believe that the conversion of the Visigoths was a serious political defeat for the Byzantines in that it lost them multitudes of potential allies inside the Visigothic kingdom: there is no evidence that they ever had allies there before 589 apart from the Arian Athanagild, who first invited them to Spain, and Hermenegild, whom we shall study on later pages. A German scholar has justly said that the idea of a community of interests of the Germanic States over against the Romans, or of Arian German States over against the Franks, lay outside the thought-world of the fifth- and sixth-century Germans.[14] Now, Clovis may or may not have used sectarian differences as a political weapon; but the problems concerning his conversion are too extensive to be discussed here. No matter what view we take of them, it still remains the case that religious or sectarian differences were not a decisive factor in the foreign policy of the barbarian kingdoms at some of the most important crises of their history. On the other hand, it would be a mistake, as we shall see, to think that either the nobility or the common people of the kingdoms were incapable of holding strong opinions on

[13] Isidore, *Hist. Goth.*, 54 (ii, 290) "saepe etiam et lacertos contra Romanas insolentias et inruptiones Vasconum movit" (sc. Recared). Notice also that the Byzantine Comentiolus, patrician and *magister militum Spaniae*, says in his inscription, dated to 589–90, that he had been sent by the Emperor Maurice to Spain *contra hostes barbaros*: Vives 362. He may have been sent against the Visigoths when they were still officially Arian, though P. Goubert, *Études byzantines*, iii (1945), 136 f., argues that he was sent to Spain not earlier than 1 September 589. In any event, he used the expression *hostes barbaros* when he must have known that the Visigothic king was already Catholic. In spite of the doubts of Goubert, *ibid.*, ii (1944), 65, and iii (1945), 130, it seems to me unquestionable that the Visigoths are referred to. (Observe that this, the most important Byzantine inscription found in Spain, is written in Latin. Most of the Greek sixth- and seventh-century inscriptions have been found *outside* the Byzantine areas of the Iberian peninsula: see H. Schlunk, "Relaciones entre la peninsula iberica y Bizancio durante la epoca visigoda," *Archivo español de Arqueologia*, xviii (1945), 177–204, at 189 f.)

[14] A. Boretius, "Ueber Gesetz und Geschichte der Burgunder," *Historische Zeitschrift*, xxi (1869), 1–27, at 19. But the Arian kings were not always indifferent to the sufferings of Arians living beyond their frontiers: Avitus, *Ep.*, vii (ed. Peiper, 36, 12 ff.) "quid tamen, si nunc quisquam de vivis regibus [he has been talking about possible future kings of the Burgundians] legis alienae ulcisci in regione sua similiter velit, quod hic sacerdotibus suis doluerit inrogari?" The bishop thinks that this is a reason for not persecuting the defeated Arians in the Burgundian kingdom after 516. For an example from the Vandals in Africa see Victor Vitensis, *Hist. Persec.*, ii, 24. Notice also Procopius, *BV*, iv, 1, 4.

these matters when they concerned internal policy. We happen to hear that in Vandal Africa strongly worded discussions on the nature of the Trinity could be heard even in the public baths![15]

Although the Visigoths did not become officially Catholic until 589, individual Visigoths were converted at a far earlier date. When the people lived in what is now approximately Rumania in the middle of the fourth century, there were already Catholics among them. St. Sabas is the best known of them, but we also hear of a bishop called Goddas, who seems to have been a Catholic.[16] There is also evidence relating to the following century. An inscription of 455 found at Narbonne tells how a Catholic church was built there at the expense of several Romans and of a "countess" (*comitissa*) named Glismoda, who was presumably a Visigoth, the wife of a *comes civitatis*.[17] It is true that Narbonne did not fall into the hands of the Visigoths until 462, but in this period Visigoths sometimes owned land and were active outside the boundaries of their kingdom.[18] As for the sixth century, a Visigothic woman who was probably a Catholic was that Hilduarens who died at Arahal near Ecija in the modern province of Seville on 15 March 504, for her sarcophagus was re-used for the Catholic monk Fulgentius, and this would hardly have been done if the sarcophagus had had Arian associations.[19] If this were all, we might conclude that only a small number of barbarians had individually been converted to Catholicism before the general conversion. But, in fact, we have further evidence. We shall discuss presently the careers of two Visigoths, one of whom (John of Biclaro) was abbot of a Catholic monastery and the other (Masona of Mérida) a Catholic bishop in the reign of King Leovigild (568–86); and we shall mention (n. 104 below) three other bishops bearing Gothic names who signed the canons of the Third Council of Toledo in 589. But if at least four Catholic sees were occupied by Visigoths in the years immediately preceding the conversion, it may well be that there had been a fairly substantial trend towards Catholicism during the sixth century.

[15] Victor Tonnennensis, *s.a.*, 498 (ii, 193).

[16] On Goddas see "Der gotische Bischof Goddas," *Zeitschrift f. deutsches Altertum*, lxxxvi (1956), 275–8, where I should not have said that no Catholic Visigothic bishops are known between the time of Goddas and that of Recared. (By a slip the Godas of Procopius, *BV*, iii, 10, 25, was there (p. 275) described as a Gepid: he was a Goth.)

[17] E. Espérandieu, "Note sur une inscription chrétienne de Narbonne," *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions* (1928), 191–5, O. Fiebiger, *Inschriftensammlung zur Geschichte d. Ostgermanen*, Neue Folge, Denkschriften d. Akad. d. Wissenschaften in Wien: phil.-hist. Klasse, Bd. 70, Abh. 3 (Vienna and Leipzig, 1939), 55, who errs in saying that her husband as a *comes civitatis* must have been a Roman: so far as I can discover, we hear of no case of a Roman becoming *comes civitatis* in the Visigothic kingdom. On the conversion of individual Vandals to Catholicism see C. Courtois, *Les Vandales et l'Afrique* (Paris, 1955), 224, n. 3, 256, n. 5, 292, n. 1; and for Ostrogothic Catholics see J. Zeiller, *Les origines chrétiennes dans les provinces danubiennes de l'empire romain* (Paris, 1918), 568–71.

[18] Paulinus, *Euch.*, 572 ff. On the date of the fall of Narbonne to the Visigoths see Hydatius, 217 (ii, 33).

[19] Vives, 149–50. See also *idem*, 214, the tombstone of Ringilio, which was found in a Catholic Roman cemetery. Was the Immafrita of *idem*, 69, who died on 8 November 579, a Catholic or an Arian? Some believe that even the *dux* Zerezindo, who died on 30 July 578 (*ibid.*, 153), was a Catholic, which would be interesting, if true.

The relation of the Arian kings with the Catholic Church had been remarkably tolerant, especially if we compare them with the attitude of the Catholic kings towards the Arian Church. Euric (466–84) was not a mere perfunctory Arian as Theodoric II, his brother and predecessor, had been. He was something of a fanatic, but he made full use of Catholic Roman advisers,[20] and his so-called "persecution" of the Catholics—the term is far too strong—was a wartime measure dictated by military and political needs.[21] Throughout the eighty-four years which separated Euric from Leovigild (484–568) there was no noteworthy clash between Arianism and Catholicism in the Visigothic kingdom.[22] The Catholic bishops were fulsome in their praise of the liberal attitude of Euric's son, Alaric II (484–507).[23] Isidore of Seville explicitly pays tribute to the tolerance of King Theudis (531–48), though he complains that the tomb of St. Acisclus was profaned by King Agila (549–54) in the course of a military campaign against Cordoba.[24] In the Arian period Catholics could build and repair churches and found monasteries in freedom; their books seem to have circulated without hindrance, and they held a considerable number of councils and synods.[25] Although the Arian Vandal rulers of Africa were on one occasion guilty of burning books (p. 27 below), we find that when Fulgentius, bishop of Ruspe in Africa, had been banished to Sardinia by King Thrasamund, he seems to have been free even in his exile to send and receive books and letters from Africa, Rome, and Constantinople.[26] Moreover, he was free to write and to publish, although his works were not in all cases addressed to the educated classes only: he tried to reach the common people in Africa by composing and

[20] Sidonius, *Ep.*, iv, 22, 3; viii, 3, 3; Greg. Tur., *HF*, ii, 20; *Vitae Patrum*, iii. For Theodoric II see Sidonius, *Ep.*, vii, 6, 6; cf. i, 2, 4.

[21] See esp. G. Yver *apud* E. Lavisse, *Études d'histoire du Moyen Age dédiées à Gabriel Monod* (Paris, 1896), 42–6, C. E. Stevens, *Sidonius Apollinaris and His Age* (Oxford, 1933), 154, K. Stroheker, *Eurich. König d. Westgoten* (Stuttgart, 1937), 37–61.

[22] Cf. F. Görres, "Kirche u. Staat im Westgotenreich von Eurich bis auf Leovigild," *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, lxvi (1893), 708–34. The view put forward by Jo. Biclar., *s.a.*, 590 (ii, 219), that the conversion to Catholicism took place "post longas Catholicorum neces atque innocentium strages," is misleading.

[23] *Concilium Agathense*, praef. (Mansi, viii, 323), cf. *Vita S. Caesarii*, i, 20.

[24] *Hist. Goth.*, 41, 45 (ii, 283 f., 285). On the tolerance of the Arian Ostrogoths see not least Procopius, *BG*, vi, 6, 18. Tolerance was less to the fore in Vandal Africa, though the intolerance of the Vandals has often been exaggerated and the reasons for it misunderstood: see the judicious discussion of Courtois, *op. cit.*, 286 ff.

[25] *Vitas SS. Patrum Emeretensium*, iv, 7 f.; v, 3, 3; Vives, 301–2, 356, etc. But in early sixth-century Gaul the fact that the country was divided up among several kingdoms made it impossible to hold a general Gallic council, according to Avitus, *Ep.*, xxxiv, though according to the *Vita S. Caesarii*, i, 60, Roman bishops, presbyters, and deacons from the Visigothic kingdom were able to attend the Council of Valence in the Burgundian kingdom in 528. Add this reference to those given by L. Schmidt, *Geschichte d. deutschen Stämme: die Ostgermanen* (Munich, 1934), 189, who shows that several times during the years 524–9 Burgundian bishops attended Visigothic councils and *vice versa*. On the circulation of books see *Vita S. Caesarii*, i, 55. Justinian, bishop of Valencia in the middle of the sixth century, "scripsit plura posteris profutura <seclis>," according to his tombstone: Vives, 279.

[26] *Vita S. Fulgentii*, 41, 54 (Migne, *PL*, lxv, 138, 144 f.). The edition of this text by G. G. Lapeyre is unfortunately inaccessible to me. When Masona of Mérida was exiled by King Leovigild (p. 16 below), he, too, was free to correspond: *Vitas SS. Patrum Emeretensium*, v, 7, 10.

publishing a rhyming *abecedarium*, written in popular language, on the errors of Arianism.[27] All this was a degree of freedom which Arians did not enjoy in Spain when the Visigothic kings had become Catholic. It may be pointed out, however, that the Visigothic Arian kings were not in all cases entirely passive. Although the Arian priesthood does not seem to have been often consumed with missionary zeal (p. 30 below),[28] yet about the year 465 a man named Ajax, an apostate from Catholicism who had become an Arian dignitary, went among the Sueves of Gallaecia and succeeded in converting them from Catholicism to Arianism; and we are told that he did this "with the help of his king."[29] The action of the king is what we should expect of the fanatical Euric rather than of the mild and pro-Roman Theodoric II (453–66), who regarded religious worship as a matter of routine rather than of conviction; but it seems certain that it was the latter who supported Ajax. Accordingly, Theodoric II is the first European ruler of whom we can say for certain that he took active measures to propagate his religion outside the frontiers of his kingdom and to convert a foreign people to his faith—none of the Roman Emperors before this date, or for a long time after, is known to have done so.[30] But the point which concerns us at present is that Theodoric's interest in missionary-work was imitated by none of his Visigothic successors; and we cannot doubt that in general the Arian kings showed that remarkable tolerance towards Catholics which all the German Arian kings showed to the Jews. And this tolerance seems to have run right through the Visigothic population and not to have been confined to the rulers. An Arian Visigoth who visited Tours in 584 declared that he believed what the Catholics believed; and he even attended mass in a Catholic church there, though he refused to partake of communion and he found fault with the Catholic form of the *Gloria*. Another Visigoth called Agila who talked with Gregory of Tours four years earlier, although himself a convinced Arian, said these remarkable words: "Speak not evil of the law which thou thyself observest not; as for us, though we believe not the things which ye believe, yet we do not speak evil of them, for the holding of this or that belief may not be imputed as a crime. And

[27] See C. Lambot, "Un psaume abécédaire inédit de S. Fulgence de Ruspe contre les Vandales ariens," *Revue bénédictine*, xlviii (1936), 221–34. This *abecedarium* is not without interest to the historian. Thus, lines 247 f. (*ibid.*, 232):

naucleriis tollunt naves qui illas solent gubernare
et perditis illas tradunt per quos possint naufragare,

refer to an event otherwise unrecorded, though it is clear from Procopius' narrative that the merchants were suspect to the Vandal kings in 534: *BV*, i, 20, 5 f., 16, 22.

[28] But see Sidonius, *Ep.*, vii, 6, 2 (Modaharius), Greg. Tur., *de Glor. Confess.*, 47 (p. 776 f.)

[29] Hydatius, 232 (ii, 33 f.) *regis sui auxilio*. This passage of Hydatius is discussed by J. Zeiller, "Isidore de Seville et les origines chrétiennes des Goths et des Suèves," *Miscellanea Isidoriana: Homenaje a S. Isidoro de Sevilla* (Rome, 1936), 287–92, at 291 f.

[30] This point is urged in the article in *Nottingham Mediaeval Studies* cited in n. 2 above. According to Theodoret, *HE*, iv, 37, Eudoxius, bishop of Constantinople, urged Valens to convert the Visigoths when they first crossed the Danube in 376 on the grounds that a common belief would strengthen peace between the two peoples. But that chapter of Theodoret has little historical value.

indeed we have a common saying that no harm is done when one passing between the altars of the Gentiles and the church of God, payeth respect to both."[31] Shortly after making this statement, which was far from characteristic of the sixth century, he was himself forcibly "converted" to Catholicism.

II. Leovigild

But King Leovigild (568–86) is said by our ancient authorities to have been a persecutor of the Catholics in his kingdom; and although he is never accused of bloodshed in this connexion, five specific cases are recorded of persons who are said to have suffered hardship for their religious opinions in this reign. We shall return to four of these cases later on, but the fifth can be dismissed immediately. Leovigild had married his elder son Hermenegild to a Catholic Frankish princess called Ingundis, a grand-daughter of Leovigild's second wife Goiswintha. Goiswintha warmly welcomed her grand-daughter to Spain and at once tried to convert her from Catholicism to Arianism. But Ingundis, who appears to have been not much more than twelve years of age, refused to be converted, and unfortunate scenes ensued. The grandmother pulled her hair, threw her to the ground and kicked her, and then ducked her in a fish-pond. Gregory of Tours assures us that Goiswintha was the leading spirit in the "persecution" of the Catholics; but we must draw a distinction between a religious persecution and a domestic *fracas* such as took place between Goiswintha and Ingundis—the two are not always identical.[32] What Leovigild thought of all this is not recorded; but he evidently had no reason to distrust Hermenegild, for he gave him part of his kingdom to rule over (presumably the province of Baetica), and Ingundis went with her husband to Seville, where they were to live.[33] It is hardly necessary to say that the relations of Goiswintha and Ingundis cannot be used to show that Leovigild persecuted the Catholics. But we must look carefully at what happened after Hermenegild arrived at Seville, for these events formed the background of the king's religious policy.

In Seville Ingundis and the local bishop Leander, brother of Isidore of Seville, set about converting Hermenegild to Catholicism. At first the prince showed some reluctance to change his faith, and there is no reason to think that the maltreatment of his wife by the fervently Arian Goiswintha had predisposed him towards Catholicism. In the end, however, he became a Catholic and almost at once began a rebellion against his father which, as a contemporary Catholic writer assures us, caused greater destruction both to the Romans and to the Goths of Spain than did the attacks of their foreign enemies.[34] There may be some truth in the remark of C. A. A. Scott, who writes: "In the

[31] Greg. Tur., *HF*, v, 43; vi, 40, transl. O. M. Dalton. On these words of Agila see F. J. Dölger, *Antike und Christentum* (Münster, 1950), vi, 69 f.

[32] Greg. Tur., *HF*, v, 38. Is Gregory quite certain that Ingundis never wavered from her Catholicism? Note *ut adserunt quidam*, p. 244, 13 f.

[33] *Ibid.*, cf. iv, 38.

[34] Jo. Biclar., *s.a.*, 579 (ii, 215).

political situation of the kingdom the transference of the allegiance of the heir apparent from the Arian to the Catholic confession both involved and proclaimed a withdrawal of his allegiance to the king. This ecclesiastical defection was necessarily accompanied by a political rebellion."[35] There is evidence, however, that Leovigild tried to save the situation by opening negotiations with his Catholic rebel son; but his effort failed. A curious fact is that the revolt is said by a contemporary Spanish writer of unimpeachable authority to have been incited by none other than the Arian queen Goiswintha, who had lately been so disagreeable to the rebel's wife.[36] By no means all of the Roman population supported the rebel, and in 582 we find Leovigild able to send to France two ambassadors who were Catholic Romans, Florentius and Exsuperius.[37] In fact, our Catholic Spanish authorities regard Hermenegild with disfavour: they do not speak of him as championing the oppressed Catholics against an Arian tyrant, but as a subject who revolted against his king and as a son who rebelled against his father. There is no reference to him at all in the documents which emerged from the Third Council of Toledo; and the early-seventh-century author of the *Vitas SS. Patrum Emeretensium*, who has much to say about the reign of King Leovigild, is not only silent about Hermenegild but has deliberately suppressed reference to him in a curious passage (v. 9. 4) where he quotes from Pope Gregory I, *Dial.* iii. 31, the words "qui [*sc.* Recared] non patrem perfidum sed fratrem martyrem sequens ab Arrianae haereseos pravitate conversus est," but for the words *fratrem martyrem* he substitutes *Christum dominum*. And it was long ago remarked by a scholar named Gams that it cannot be proved, and that it is in fact improbable, that any Catholic bishop took part in the rising.[38] This is perhaps to claim too much, for Leander of Seville would seem to have tried to further the rebel's interests at Byzantium.[39] But in spite of all this, it is a matter of some delicacy

[35] Scott, *op. cit.*, 199, cf. F. Dahn, *Die Könige d. Germanen* (Würzburg, 1870), v, 137 f., K. Stroheker, "Leowigild: Aus einer Wendezeit westgotischer Geschichte," *Die Welt als Geschichte*, v (1939), 446–85, at 459 f.

[36] Jo. Biclar., *loc. cit.*, "Hermenegildus factione Gosuinthae reginae tyrannidem assumens." H. Giesecke, *Die Ostgermanen u. der Arianismus* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1939), 107, goes so far as to substitute Ingundis' name for that of Goiswintha in this text, which is unjustifiable, even though we read in *Hist. Pseudo-Isidor*, 14 (ii, 385) "quae [= Ingundis] marito persuasit ut in patrem insurgens pro eo regnaret." But Recared supported his father in the war: Greg. Tur., *HF*, v, 38 (p. 245, 9). There is no reason to think that Hermenegild proclaimed himself king under pressure from the "fervently Catholic" population of Baetica, as is implied by F. Lot, C. Pfister and F. L. Ganshof, *Les destinées de l'empire en Occident de 395 à 888*, Histoire du Moyen Age, ed. G. Glotz (Paris, 1928), i, 234, or that he was obliged to rebel because his father's reign had hitherto been intolerably cruel and oppressive: so H. Leclercq, *L'Espagne chrétienne*[2] (Paris, 1906), 254 ff., whose attempt to justify Hermenegild is scarcely persuasive. For Leovigild's negotiations see Greg. Tur., *HF*, v, 38; Greg. Magn., *Dial.*, iii, 31 "quem [= Hermenegild] pater Arrianus, ut ad eandem haeresem rediret, et praemiis suadere et minis terrere conatus est," etc.

[37] Greg. Tur., *de Virtut. Martini*, iii, 8 (p. 634).

[38] P. B. Gams, *Die Kirchengeschichte von Spanien* (Regensburg, 1864), ii, i, 489.

[39] P. Goubert, "Byzance et l'Espagne wisigothique," *Études byzantines*, ii (1944), 5–78, at 26–9. So, too, R. Aigrain *apud* A. Fliche and V. Martin, *Histoire de l'Église* (Paris, 1947), v, 232, and W. Goffart, "Byzantine Policy in the West under Tiberius II and Maurice," *Traditio*, xiii (1957), 73–118, at 90, n. 71.

to interpret the significance of Hermenegild's revolt; and on a later page we shall discuss some evidence which seems to show that the rebellion did in fact have sectarian implications (p. 20 below).

At all events, Hermenegild proclaimed himself king in Seville and began to mint coins in his own name.[40] The rebellion led to Leovigild's losing control of Seville, Cordoba, Mérida, and other important towns and forts. It was supported by the Byzantines and Sueves. The Suevic king Miro sent envoys to the Frankish king Guntram in 580. The reason why he did so is not recorded, but it is tempting to think that he wished to incite Guntram to intervene in the civil war (though, if so, his plan came to nothing).[41] The rebellion began in the year 580, and at first Leovigild was unable to give it his full attention. In 581 he was obliged to invade the country of the Basques in the north of Spain (though there is no reason to think that the Basques were co-operating with Hermenegild).[42] But in 582 he recovered Mérida,[43] and in the following year he began to besiege Seville, which the Suevic allies of Hermenegild were unable to relieve.[44] Leovigild then paid the Byzantines no less than 30,000 solidi to withdraw their support from the rebel; and when the latter risked a battle against his father outside Seville, the Byzantines deserted him in the field.[45] The end of the war and the suppression of the revolt can be dated with some

[40] Gregory the Great, *loc. cit.*, refers to Hermenegild as "king"; and that he did in fact proclaim himself king is shown by an inscription, Vives 364, and by his coins, for which see G. C. Miles, *The Coinage of the Visigoths of Spain: Leovigild to Achila II* (New York, 1952), 199 f. Notice also J. von Pflugk-Hartung, "Zur Geschichte d. Westgothenkönige Leovigild," *Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte*, xxvi (1886), 635–9, at 638 f., though it cannot be doubted that Hermenegild's coins date from the period of his rebellion. Incidentally, the inscription and the coins show that Hermenegild's name should strictly not be aspirated; but I have accepted the traditional spelling.

[41] Greg. Tur., *HF*, v, 41. Did Miro help Hermenegild because the latter was a Catholic or because he already foresaw Leovigild's final attack on the Suevic kingdom? In 585, when hostilities had broken out between Leovigild and Guntram, the Spanish king destroyed the ships trading between Gaul and Gallaecia, plundered their cargoes, and killed or imprisoned their crews: *ibid.*, viii, 35. Was he afraid that Guntram might be able to use the Catholic Sueves against him? These ships are often thought to have been warships, e.g., by Dahn, *op. cit.*, v, 149; Lot, Pfister, and Ganshof, *op. cit.*, 235, 269; Torres, *op. cit.* (in n. 49 below), 106; Stroheker, *art. cit.*, 482; Goubert, *art. cit.*, 41. But the phrase *res ablatae* in Gregory's text suggests to my mind that they were merchantmen: so, too, O. M. Dalton, *The History of the Franks by Gregory of Tours* (Oxford, 1927), i, 158, n. 1; A. R. Lewis, "Le commerce et la navigation sur les côtes atlantiques de la Gaule du V^e^ au VIII^e^ siècle," *Le Moyen Age*, lix (1953), 249–98, at 271.

[42] Jo. Biclar., *s.a.*, 581 (ii, 216). I have not been persuaded by the opinion of Goffart, *art. cit.*, 91, 105 f., who suggests that Leovigild deliberately postponed his attack on Hermenegild so as to give the latter "every chance to change his mind and repent."

[43] Greg. Tur., *HF*, vi, 18.

[44] Jo. Biclar., *s.a.*, 583 (ii, 216). Some of Leovigild's coins refer to his re-capture of Seville: Miles, *op. cit.*, 110.

[45] Greg. Tur., *HF*, v, 38, where note *relictus a solacio*. E. Stein, *Studien z. Geschichte d. byzantinischen Reiches* (Stuttgart, 1919), 114, n. 5, thinks it possible that Leovigild may have paid this money as "einen auf Grund eines Staatsvertrages für die Rückgabe von Cordova erlegten Kaufpreis." Goffart, *art. cit.*, 107, dates Leovigild's payment to the Byzantines to a later stage in the proceedings, i.e., after the fall of Seville. But this can hardly be reconciled with Greg. Tur., *loc. cit.* For a criticism of the wisdom of Tiberius II in supporting Hermenegild at all see Goffart, *art. cit.*, 90, though perhaps he goes too far, *ibid.*, 118, in saying that "by withdrawing the Empire from Hermenegild's disaster, he [Maurice] retarded by forty years the expulsion of the Byzantines from Spain."

precision. When a Visigothic ambassador named Oppila, travelling from Leovigild to Chilperic, reached Tours on 2 April 584, he brought news that the war in Spain was now over.[46] But a Frankish embassy which returned from Spain earlier in that same year declared that the war in Spain was still raging violently.[47] Between the time when this embassy arrived in France and the time when Oppila reached Tours, a third embassy had time to travel from Spain to France[48]; and the data can best be accounted for if we conclude that the war ended with Hermenegild's defeat and capture in February 584.[49] Ingundis and her infant son Athanagild fell into the hands of the Byzantines, who sent them off to Contantinople. Ingundis died on the journey in Africa, according to one account, or in Sicily, according to another,[50] but Athanagild reached the eastern capital, where his fate is unknown.

Before leaving the revolt of Hermenegild we must notice the attitude of the three Frankish kings of the time towards Leovigild. Throughout the entire civil war, the Spanish king was negotiating with Chilperic I of Soissons with the aim of marrying his second son, Recared, to Chilperic's daughter, Rigunthis.[51] (He had already married his elder son Hermenegild to Ingundis, with the results that we have seen.) On 1 September 584, some months after the civil war in Spain had been won, a large Spanish embassy arrived at Chilperic's court to escort Rigunthis to Spain,[52] and there is no hint in our authority that the Frankish court at any time believed religious differences to be a hindrance to the projected marriage. As for Childebert of Metz, Leovigild does not seem to have had any relations with him during the civil war; but as soon as the war was over he feared that Childebert might attack him because Hermenegild's wife, Ingundis, who was Childebert's sister, had

[46] Greg. Tur., *HF*, vi, 40.

[47] *Ibid.*, vi, 33.

[48] *Ibid*, vi, 34. Goffart, *art. cit.*, 109, n. 163, supposes that Hermenegild had been crushed by the time of this embassy: but Gregory gives no support for this view.

[49] On Hermenegild's death and the question of his martydom see Garvin, *op. cit.* (in n. 12 above), 485–91. On Hermenegild's usurpation in general, see F. Görres, "Kritische Untersuchungen über den Aufstand und das Martyrium d. westgothischen Königsohnes Hermenegild," *Zeitschrift für die historische Theologie*, xliii (1873), 3–109; A. K. Ziegler, *Church and State in Visigothic Spain*, Diss, Washington, 1930, 28–31; M. Torres *apud* R. Menendez Pidal, *Historia de España* (Madrid, 1940), iii, 102–6; and esp. Goubert, *art. cit.*, 20–37. But T. Hodgkin, *Italy and Her Invaders* (Oxford, 1916), v, 250 ff., is antiquated, and R. Altamira, *Cambridge Medieval History*, ii, 168–70, is by no means above criticism. For the Frankish and Byzantine background see Goffart, *art. cit.* Ziegler does not discuss the interesting inscription cited in n. 40 above, on which see F. Görres, "Die byzantinischen Besitzungen an d. Küsten d. spanisch-westgotischen Reiches," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, xvi (1907), 515–38, at 533 f. There is also some numismatical evidence bearing on the war, for which see Miles, *op. cit.*, 110, 119, *et al.*, though Hermenegild's own coins are exceedingly rare: *ibid.*, 199 f.

[50] Greg. Tur., *HF*, viii, 28, Paulus Diaconus, *HL*, iii, 21.

[51] Greg. Tur., *HF*, v, 43; vi, 18 (cf. *Virt. Martini*, iii, 8, p. 634); vi, 29, 33 f., 40. On the relations of Leovigild and Recared with the Franks see Goubert, *art. cit.*, 58 ff., and on the foreign relations of the Frankish kings in our period see G. Reverdy, "Les relations de Childebert II et de Byzance," *Revue historique*, cxiv (1913), 61–86, P. Goubert, *Byzance avant l'Islam* (Paris, 1956), ii, 95 ff., and Goffart, *art. cit.*

[52] Greg. Tur., *HF*, vi, 45.

been driven off into the Byzantine possessions in Spain. These fears were justified, for in fact Childebert did intend to act against Leovigild, though for an unknown reason he made no move.[53] Our authority makes no mention of religious motives on Childebert's part: his war, if it broke out, would be due to the treatment of Ingundis and would not be designed to crush heresy. Childebert's attitude towards his sister's fate is noteworthy. In 585 he carried out certain undertakings to the Byzantine government (which he had hitherto refused to do in spite of having been paid 50,000 solidi) and led his army into Italy against the Lombards "because there was a report that his sister Ingundis had now been transferred to Constantinople."[54] We are reminded of the occasion in 531 when Childebert I invaded Spain because his sister was being maltreated by her husband, the Visigothic king Amalaric.[55] The ties of kinship or family were in some ways exceedingly strong among the Merovingian rulers.[56] Finally, Leovigild's relations with King Guntram of Burgundy during the civil war are obscure. Miro, the Suevic king, may have wished to incite him to intervene against Leovigild (p. 13 above), but that is not certain. At any rate, as soon as Guntram heard in 585 of the deaths of Hermenegild and Ingundis, we are told, he was enraged and ordered his forces to subjugate Septimania and then advance against Spain itself; but the outbreak of a rebellion in southern France caused his plans to come to nothing.[57] Gothic forces under Recared's command undertook some successful offensive measures against the Franks[58]; but in 586 Guntram rejected Leovigild's request for peace, and the Goths therefore made another plundering raid on France,[59] but could make no impression on Guntram. This was the state of affairs at Leovigild's death. There is no evidence that he had feared Frankish intervention until *after* he had crushed Hermenegild's revolt,[60] and no one expected at any time, so far as we know, that the Franks would invade Spain from religious motives: they would do so, if at all, in order to avenge the exile of Ingundis.

It is against this background of civil war and later of threats from abroad that we must view Leovigild's religious policy. We have mentioned that, apart from the treatment of Ingundis by Goiswintha, there are four cases

[53] *Ibid.*, vi, 40, 42. The Spanish embassy of 582 visited Childebert as well as Chilperic, but with what purpose we do not know: *ibid.*, vi, 18.

[54] *Ibid.*, viii,18, cf. Jo. Biclar., *s.a.*, 584 (ii, 217).

[55] Greg. Tur., *HF*, iii, 10, Procopius, *BG*, v, 13, 9 ff., cf. the demand for composition for a *consobrina*, Greg. Tur., *HF*, iii, 31.

[56] See, e.g., Hodgkin, *op. cit.*, v, 260.

[57] Greg. Tur., *HF*, viii, 28, 30. The words attributed to Guntram in the latter passage —"quia indignum est ut horrendorum Gothorum terminus usque in Galliis sit extensus"— do not contradict this account of his motive: they express Guntram's dislike of Goths in general, not simply of their Arianism. It is, I think, somewhat misleading of Krusch, *ad loc.*, to cite the famous statement which Gregory ascribes (whether rightly or wrongly) to Clovis, *ibid.*, ii, 37, "valde molestum fero quod hi Arriani partem teneant Galliarum," if by that citation he means us to understand that Guntram's motive was also sectarian.

[58] *Ibid.*, viii, 30, pp. 394, 6–8, 396, 10 ff., cf. Jo. Biclar., *s.a.*, 585 (ii, 217).

[59] Greg. Tur., *HF*, viii, 35, 38.

[60] *Ibid.*, vi, 40.

where the king is thought to have acted as a persecutor, and it is important for our purpose to establish, if we can, not only the nature but also the chronology of these four actions.

The relations of Leovigild with Masona, a Visigoth who had become Catholic bishop of Mérida, fall into a number of stages. At first, the king, impressed by the bishop's prominence, tried to persuade and even bribe him to join the Arians; but Masona merely responded by rebuking the king for his Arianism.[61] The king next appointed one Sunna as Arian bishop of Mérida and gave him certain churches in the city which had hitherto been Catholic. Sunna appealed to the king to be given possession of the church of St. Eulalia also, and Leovigild sent a number of commissioners to Mérida to examine the rival claims. The commission, though consisting mostly of Arians, awarded the church to the Catholics.[62] So far there is nothing that could be called "persecution." But now Leovigild summoned Masona to Toledo and commanded him to hand over the tunic of St. Eulalia so that it might be placed in an Arian church in the capital.[63] This Masona refused to do, and therefore Leovigild exiled him to an unnamed place, where he remained for three years or more.[64] At the end of that time Leovigild (as a result of a vision, so we are told) recalled Masona and offered him gifts, which the bishop refused to accept.[65] Our authority for these events goes on to describe the return of Masona to Mérida and then immediately records the death of Leovigild, which took place between 13 April and 8 May 586,[66] so that we may date Masona's return to his see to the last year of Leovigild's life. Now, our authority assumes throughout his narrative that Leovigild had control of Mérida, which in fact had fallen to him only in 582 (p. 13 above). We may therefore date the episode of Masona, Sunna, and Leovigild together with the three years of Masona's exile to 582–6. Unfortunately, we do not know when Masona had become bishop of Mérida, but he may have done so as early as 573 or even before that date,[67] and there is no hint that he was in any way molested by the king in the earlier part of his career as bishop.

Let us look a little more closely at the circumstances of Sunna's appointment as Arian bishop in Mérida. There is no indication in our authority that Leovigild appointed him to succeed an earlier Arian bishop of the city; and it seems to be implied that none of the churches of Mérida was then in the hands of the Arians, for as soon as Sunna was consecrated he proceeded to

[61] *Vitas SS. Patrum Emeretensium*, v, 4, 1 ff., where very strong language is used of Leovigild, though the author is not ill-disposed towards him in iii, 8 ff.

[62] *Ibid.*, v, 5, 1 ff.

[63] *Ibid.*, v, 6, 4 ff.

[64] *Ibid.*, v, 7, 1.

[65] *Ibid.*, v, 8, 3 ff.

[66] *Ibid.*, v, 9, 1 ff.

[67] Jo. Biclar., *s.a.*, 573 (ii, 213), "Mausona Emeretensis ecclesiae episcopus in nostro dogmate clarus habetur," on which see Garvin's ed. of the *Vitas*, 426 f.

take over some Catholic churches for the use of his own flock.[68] The inference from all this seems to be that there was no organized Arian community in the city before Sunna was consecrated as bishop. But since it is hardly credible that there was no Arian community in so important a centre at so late a date as 582, how are we to explain the absence of an Arian organization there, which our authority's words appear to indicate? I would suggest as a possibility that when the city fell into Hermenegild's hands in 580 the rebel suppressed Arianism in Mérida, drove out their priesthood, and made their churches over to the Catholics. Much has been written about Leovigild's "persecution" of the Catholics, but no one seems to have asked whether Hermenegild may not have persecuted the Arians in the territories which fell under his control. If we suppose that he did so, the narrative in the *Vitas SS. Patrum Emeretensium* becomes easier to understand, and we may conclude that in 582–3 Leovigild was doing no more than returning to the Arians the churches in Mérida which had previously been theirs; but he refused to give them the church of St. Eulalia, which his commission decided had always been a Catholic church. Whether Leovigild can be said to have acted as a persecutor in all this is a question which lack of evidence makes it impossible for us to answer with any assurance. We do not know the motives which caused the king to exile the bishop. What was the significance of the request for the tunic of St. Eulalia? Was this the only matter in dispute between Leovigild and Masona? What were the relations between the Arians and the Catholics in Mérida when Arian power was overthrown there in 580? What dealings had Masona had with Hermenegild? It is noteworthy that Masona was recalled from exile soon after Leovigild had crushed the great rebellion; but, so far as we can judge from our sources, which are all of them Catholic, the bishop was never accused of being a supporter of Hermenegild. Can we be certain that nothing has been suppressed by our authorities in this connexion?

We are less well informed about the king's relations with Johannes Biclarensis. John had migrated to Constantinople as a young man and had remained there for seventeen years until *c.* 576,[69] when he returned to Spain. The king tried to force him to become an Arian and when he refused exiled him to Barcelona, where he remained for ten years. Mommsen assumes that these were the years 577–86,[70] though whether it was Leovigild himself or Recared who recalled the exile is unfortunately not recorded. But even if John was not recalled until Recared was converted to Catholicism about February 587, it will still remain the case that he was exiled in 578, that is, *before* Hermenegild's revolt broke out. There is no other reason for thinking that Leovigild was putting pressure on the Catholics at so early a date, and this is a matter to which we shall have to return.

[68] *Vitas*, v, 5, 4 ff.
[69] On this date see Mommsen, *Chronica Minora*, ii, 207 f.
[70] *Ibid.*

The next specific case in which Leovigild is said to have acted as a persecutor is that of Phronimius. Phronimius was a native of Bourges in the Frankish kingdom who had emigrated to Septimania in the time of the Visigothic king Leuva I (568–73). Leuva welcomed him with the tolerance that was characteristic of the Arian kings, and Phronimius was appointed bishop of Agde (dép. Hérault). Some years later he began to interfere in the affairs of the Visigothic royal family and urged Ingundis, who was on her way from France to Spain so as to marry Hermenegild in 579–80, not to allow herself to be persuaded to accept the "poison" of Arianism. This came to the ears of Leovigild, who tried to find ways and means of expelling him from his bishopric. Certain informants finally warned Phronimius that the king was sending an assassin to kill him, and Phronimius accordingly fled from Septimania to the Frankish kingdom, where in 588 he became bishop of Vence (dép. Alpes-Maritimes).[71] Whether the king really planned to kill Phronimius must remain doubtful—he would not have shared his plan with many advisers, and those who warned Phronimius may have been misinformed—but we need not doubt that Leovigild wished to be rid of his interfering, foreign bishop. At any rate, it is hardly open to doubt that Phronimius' flight took place in or soon after 580, i.e. during the revolt of Hermenegild.

Finally, Gregory of Tours tells a story of how a certain unnamed priest, who refused to admit that the Son and the Holy Spirit were inferior to the Father, was tortured and then exiled from Spain by Leovigild: the priest, we are told, "departed rejoicing and returned to Gaul." He, too, then, like Phronimius, was a Gaul and not a Spaniard,[72] but in this case Gregory gives no hint at the date of the events which he is narrating.

What, then, are we to say about Leovigild's attitude towards the Catholics (*a*) before Hermenegild's rebellion broke out, and (*b*) during the course of the revolt? The evidence of Isidore of Seville distinctly suggests that coercive measures were directed against John of Biclaro before Hermenegild went to Seville; and, indeed, Isidore asserts that Arianism was on the offensive at the time when John returned from Constantinople to Spain (that is, according to Mommsen, *c.* 576): "in Spanias reversus est eodem tempore quo incitante Leovigildo rege Arriana fervebat insania."[73] As against this we may set a passage of Gregory of Tours, who says that the Frankish envoys who returned to France from an interview with Leovigild in 582 stated that the king was trying to drive out the Catholic faith *novo nunc ingenio*, which suggests that in their opinion the anti-Catholic policy had only been put into action recently,

[71] Greg. Tur., *HF*, ix, 24.

[72] Greg. Tur., *In Glor. Martyr.*, 81 (p. 543), who ends his story with the words "sed ut fides dictis adhibeatur, ego hominem vidi qui haec ab ipsius clerici ore audita narravit." I suppose that many well established "facts" of ancient history are no more securely based.

[73] Mommsen, *loc. cit.* The date is given by Isidore, *De Vir. Illustr.*, 62 f. (Migne, *PL*, xxxiii, 1105), cf. Stroheker, *art. cit.*, 472, n. 90.

that is, presumably after the rebellion had begun.[74] Moreover, Gregory reports at length a conversation which he had at Tours in 580 with an Arian Visigothic ambassador named Agila, and he represents Agila as insisting upon the tolerant attitude of the Arians towards Catholicism.[75] But if Leovigild was engaged at that moment, or if he had been engaged in recent years, in persecuting the Catholics in his kingdom, it is hardly credible that Gregory would have omitted to point to the falsity of Agila's position. Again, early in Leovigild's reign there was some immigration of African Catholic clerics into Spain. The fame of one of these immigrants, the abbot Nanctus, came to Leovigild's ears, and the king, "although he was an Arian," as our authority says, wished that Nanctus should commend him to God in his prayers and hence gave him some land so that the abbot and his brethren might have food and clothing from it.[76] There is, in fact, a conflict in our evidence here, and I do not claim to be able to resolve it. But some may find it difficult to resist the impression that the chronology of the life of John of Biclaro has been handed down to us inaccurately, that Isidore has confused the date of his return from Constantinople to Spain (576) with the date of his exile by Leovigild, and that C. A. A. Scott was right in believing that Leovigild's attitude towards Catholicism throughout the first ten years of his reign was "one of consistent toleration."[77] At any rate, we shall go beyond the evidence if we suppose that the king carried out a planned attack on Catholicism throughout his reign: his anti-Catholic measures, with the doubtful exception of the banishment of John of Biclaro, coincided with the war against Hermenegild, or at any rate cannot be shown to have ante-dated it.

As for Leovigild's attitude during the great rebellion of his son, it is commonly held that it was this revolt which forced some anti-Catholic measures on the king[78]; but it is equally commonly held that the revolt was not essentially a revolt of Catholics against an Arian government, and this is a view which our Spanish authorities seem to support (p. 12 above). These two beliefs are contradictory: which of them should be rejected? We have seen that when

[74] Isidore, *loc. cit.*, Greg. Tur., *HF*, vi, 18. The envoys made no reference to forcible measures. I have little doubt that Gregory, v, 38 (p. 244, 19) is misleading when he says that Leovigild sought to destroy Hermenegild when he heard that he had become a Catholic: as soon as he proclaimed himself *rex* in Seville, Leovigild would have tried to overthrow him whether or not he was a Catholic. Gregory goes on to say that it was only when Leovigild began to take counter-measures against Hermenegild that the latter was obliged to ally himself with the generals of Tiberius II. The presence of Leander in Constantinople at about this time (p. 12 above) makes this, too, seem doubtful.

[75] Greg. Tur., *HF*, v, 43.

[76] *Vitas SS. Patrum Emeretensium*, iii, 2 ff. For Donatus and about seventy monks who also came from Africa to Spain see Ildefonsus, *de Vir. Illustr.*, 4 (Migne, *PL*, xcvi, 200), who, however, gives no indication of date.

[77] Scott, *op. cit.*, 196, cf. Stroheker, *art. cit.*, 472. We must certainly reject Altamira's view (*Cambridge Medieval History*, ii, 169), that Leovigild had "frequently" persecuted the Catholics before 579: none of our authorities says this. There is also no valid evidence for the view that Leovigild exiled Leander of Seville: see P. Goubert, *Études byzantines*, ii (1944), 26–9.

[78] See, e.g., Garvin's ed. of the *Vitas*, 481.

the revolt began in 580 Leovigild was not able to give it his full attention immediately: he spent the compaigning season of 581 in action against the Basques and only turned southwards in 582 (p. 13 above). But one event is recorded from the time which elapsed between the outbreak of the revolt and the campaign against the Basques. The first recorded action of Leovigild, when he heard that his son had risen against him, was to call a synod of Arian bishops at Toledo, at which he enacted that converts "from the Roman religion"—a term commonly used by the Arians of Spain to denote Catholicism —to "our Catholic faith," that is, to Arianism, need not be re-baptized[79]: the laying on of hands would be sufficient if the convert would partake of communion and offer glory to the Father through the Son in the Holy Spirit (the normal Arian form of the *Gloria*).[80] This was intended to facilitate the transition of Catholics to Arianism, and, coupled with the offer of pecuniary advantages, it resulted in many conversions, including that of Vincentius, Catholic bishop of Saragossa.[81] But since the king called this synod together soon after he heard of the outbreak of the rebellion at Seville, it is difficult to resist the impression that some sectarian issue was at stake during the rebellion. Were the supporters of the revolt mainly Catholic, or at any rate did the king believe them to be such? Or did he suspect that the revolt would sooner or later take on a Catholic character? We can hardly deny that the decision of the synod which abolished the need for re-baptism looks like a concession to those Catholics who might be interested in the religious re-unification of the kingdom. And it is noteworthy that in 582 Leovigild himself was prepared to worship at the shrines of Catholic martyrs and even in Catholic churches, asserting that Christ the Son of God was equal to the Father but denying the full divinity of the Holy Spirit.[82] We have also seen that the

[79] Greg. Tur., *In Glor. Martyr.*, 24, "Romanos enim vocitant nostrae homines relegionis," cf. 78, 79.

[80] Jo. Biclar., *s.a.*, 580 (ii, 216), "de Romana religione ad nostram Catholicam fidem venientes" (so the MSS.). The *libellus detestabilis* mentioned here was referred to at the Third Council of Toledo (Mansi, ix, 986): "hunc libellum si quis pro vero habuerit, anathema sit in aeternum."

[81] Isidore, *Hist. Goth.*, 50 (ii, 287), which is by no means free from exaggeration—e.g., when he says "plurimos episcoporum exilio relegavit," he is generalizing from the cases of Masona and John of Biclaro; and when he says "ecclesiarum reditus et privilegia tulit" (cf. *ibid.*, 55), he is, I think, generalizing from the incident of Sunna and Masona at Mérida, reported in the *Vitas SS. Patrum Emeretensium*, v, 5, 4 ff., where note esp. "quasdam basilicas cum omnibus earum privilegiis praecipiente rege sublatas." The exaggerations of Greg. Tur., *HF*, v, 39, are much wilder: on them see Scott, *op. cit.*, 201 f. Gregory also goes too far, *ibid.*, vi, 18, when he says that the "Christians," as he calls them (he means the Catholics as distinct from the Arians) in Spain were few in number (*pauci*)—"vérité officielle," says L. Duchesne, *L'Église au VI^e siècle* (Paris, 1925), 571, though it may be that Leovigild's compromise had met with a fair degree of acceptance among the Catholic population. Note Isidore's admission that "plerosque sine persecutione inlectos auro rebusque decepit" (sc. Leovigild), cf. Jo. Biclar., *s.a.*, 580 (ii, 216), "plurimi nostrorum cupiditate potius quam impulsione in Arrianum dogma declinant." According to Isidore, *de Vir. Illustr.*, 43 (Migne, *PL*, lxxxiii, 1105), Severus, bishop of Malaga, a city which lay in the safety of the Byzantine dominions (P. Goubert, *Études byzantines*, iv (1946), 95 f.), wrote a pamphlet against Vincentius, but it has not survived.

[82] Greg. Tur., *HF*, vi, 18, cf. Stroheker, *art. cit.*, 474.

Arianism of some of Leovigild's ambassadors was remarkably elastic (p. 10 above). The king, it would appear, was trying to close the ranks and win all the support he could possibly obtain in face of an essentially Catholic rebellion; and since it is known that many Catholics accepted his compromise, Scott may be right in holding that "it caused disunion and uncertainty in the Catholic camp, and probably lightened effectively the task of suppressing the rebellion."[83] In dealing with Masona, John of Biclaro, and the unnamed priest whose story is told by Gregory of Tours, Leovigild proceeded by trying at first to win over the Catholics by peaceful means, and he resorted to force only when persuasion had failed.

It is true, as we have seen, that our Spanish authorities, John of Biclaro and Isidore of Seville, do not regard the rebellion as having borne a Catholic character; but this was not the attitude of Gregory of Tours, who regards the revolt as being undoubtedly Catholic. It may well be that the Spanish authors were reluctant to associate Catholics with a war which cost Spain so much loss and damage or with the act of rebellion—an act on which the Catholic kings of Spain looked very sternly. We must not be too hurried in rejecting Gregory's view of the revolt of Hermenegild, though, if we accept it, we must go on to suppose that Goiswintha, who had instigated the revolt (p. 12 above), cannot have been very pleased with the results of her handiwork. At all events, we may wonder whether the measures taken against John of Biclaro, Masona, and the others, amount to a "persecution" of the Catholics? This is a matter to which we shall have to return. In the meantime, we may notice that if his aim had been to take the offensive against Spanish Catholicism in general, Leovigild would scarcely have confined his attentions to two Visigoths and two priests from the Frankish kingdom. Indeed, one of the few stories told about the war against Hermenegild shows Leovigild restoring to a Catholic monastery of St. Martin everything which his troops had plundered from it.[84] Also, when Leovigild exiled Masona, he did not suppress the Catholic bishopric of Mérida: Masona's place there was taken by a Catholic called Nepopis.[85] The attack on Masona was an attack on the bishop personally, not on Catholicism as such. I find it difficult to deny the truth of Manuel Torres's remark that "to assert, as is commonly done, that the council or synod [of 580] is a manifestation of a systematic persecution of the Catholics after the conversion of Hermenegild is to enter the realm of fantasy,"[86] though it was undoubtedly an attempt to undermine the Catholic camp. Moreover, it may well have been at this period of his reign that the king killed or exiled some of the Arian nobility of Spain in order to lay hands on their money;

[83] Scott, *op. cit.*, 206.
[84] Greg. Tur., *In Glor. Confess.*, 12 (p. 755).
[85] *Vitas SS. Patrum Emeretensium*, v, 6, 29, cf. v, 8, 8 ff.
[86] Torres, *op. cit.* (in n. 49 above), 104.

and, if so, we must be careful not to confuse an expropriation of the rich with a persecution of Catholicism.[87]

It was reported to Pope Gregory the Great and also to Gregory of Tours, both of them strict contemporaries of these events, that Leovigild before he died came to see the truth of the Catholic belief. It is certain that no anti-Catholic measures of any kind are reported from the final period of the reign, that is, after the suppression of Hermenegild's rebellion. On the contrary, this was the time when the king recalled Masona and perhaps also John of Biclaro from exile, and when he pressed ahead with his plan to marry his second son, Recared, to the Catholic Frankish princess Rigunthis (p. 14 above). It might not be going too far to see the years 584–6 as a time of reconciliation in Spain, except perhaps in the former Suevic kingdom of Gallaecia (p. 25 below). It is noteworthy, though not in my opinion decisive, that no Spanish writer mentions the king's alleged conversion to Catholicism: no Spanish authority mentions that Hermenegild was a Catholic, though the assertion of the two Gregories that he was has never, I think, been doubted.[88] Gregory the Great goes on to say that Leovigild did not proclaim his conversion publicly through fear of his people. When his son Recared turned to Catholicism in 587, according to another authority, he had himself baptized in secret.[89] Similarly, the Burgundian king Gundobad, who died in 516, became convinced before his death of the falsity of Arianism and was ready to be received into the Catholic Church, but only provided that this could be done in secret; for, according to Gregory of Tours, the king was afraid of a revolt of his people if it should become known that he had abandoned Arianism.[90] Clearly, if Leovigild had in fact been converted, it would have been difficult for him to make his Catholicism known in view of the severe sufferings and losses which the Visigoths had endured in the late war, which we believe must have been fought to some extent in the name of Arianism. It is tempting to think that both Leovigild and Recared, like Gundobad among the Burgundians in similar circumstances, expected trouble from the rank and file of their people and perhaps from some of the nobility, too, if their conversion were to be proclaimed prematurely; and Recared, as we shall see presently, did not avoid trouble.

[87] Isidore, *Hist. Goth.*, 51 (ii, 288).

[88] Greg. Magn., *Dial.*, iii, 31 (Migne, *PL*, lxxvii, 292, or G. Waitz, *MGH, Script. rer. Longob.*, 536), relying on the reports of "many who come from Spain," Greg. Tur., *HF.* viii, 46, *ut quidam adserunt.* There can be no certainty about Leovigild's alleged conversion; and for the other point of view, which is nowadays accepted almost universally, see Garvin, *op. cit.*, 481 f. For an explanation of how the rumour, if it is a rumour, may have arisen see Scott, *op. cit.*, 211. On the particular brand of Arianism to which Leovigild subscribed see Giesecke, *op. cit.* (in n. 36 above), 109–111, 115 f., Stroheker, *art. cit.*, 474 f.

[89] Fredegarius, iv, 8.

[90] Greg. Tur., *HF*, ii, 34, the authority of which is rejected for no valid reason by Schmidt, *op. cit.* (in n. 25 above), 150. Observe in Gregory, *ibid.*, 31, Clovis' fears that his people might not follow him in deserting the old gods.

III. Recared

When Recared succeeded his father between 13 April and 8 May 586,[91] he was still an Arian. He inherited a dangerous situation on the frontiers of Septimania, for the Frankish king Guntram was still threatening an attack (p. 15 above). The new king immediately sought a reconcilation with his step-mother Goiswintha, who had incited Hermenegild to revolt; and on her advice he at once sent envoys to both Guntram and Childebert asking for peace. Childebert, whose ardour to avenge his sister had now cooled off, signed a peace-treaty; and the Visigoths thus succeeded in neutralizing two of the three Frankish kings (for they had had no trouble with Chilperic).[92] But Guntram, so far from signing a peace, closed the frontier between his possessions and Septimania; and in reply the Goths successfully raided the lower Rhone valley.[93] It was at this stage that Recared became a Catholic; and he now sent another embassy to Childebert and Guntram. Childebert agreed that Recared was not guilty of the charge which had been brought against him of having been an accomplice in the death of Ingundis—for this was still the issue which interested Childebert—and in fact soon after his accession Recared had put to death Sisbert, the assassin of Hermenegild.[94] When the Goths offered Childebert 10,000 solidi for a treaty of alliance, he and his mother, Brunhild, who also felt deeply about the fate of Ingundis,[95] accepted readily. The envoys went on to say that Recared was prepared to marry the king's sister Chlodoswinda—the projected marriage with Rigunthis had long since fallen through—but Childebert and his mother said that they could not agree to this without Guntram's consent.[96] Guntram's reception of the envoys was much less accommodating. He declared that he could not trust a people who had handed over his niece Ingundis into captivity and had caused her to die abroad and had killed her husband.[97] When asked in 588 about the marriage of Recared and Chlodoswinda, he said that he would not agree to his niece going to the country where her sister had been killed.[98] In that same year, 588, however, Childebert agreed to the marriage "since he had learned that that nation [i.e. the Visigoths] had been converted to the Catholic

[91] On this date see K. Zeumer, "Die Chronologie der Westgothenkönige d. Reiches von Toledo," *NA*, xxvii (1902), 411–44, at 415, 429 f.

[92] Greg. Tur., *HF*, ix, 1.

[93] *Ibid.*, ix, 1 and 7. We are not told why the Visigoths were so anxious to establish peace with the Franks. Goubert, *art. cit.*, 60, may be right in thinking that they were afraid of Byzantine attacks on Spain. But perhaps they simply wished to force Guntram to call off the attack which he had had in mind for so long.

[94] Jo. Biclar., *s.a.*, 575, 587 (ii, 217 f.).

[95] Greg. Tur., *HF*, viii, 21. For her later attitude see *ibid.*, ix, 28. Note esp. her well-known letter to the Byzantine Empress: *Epist. Austras.*, 44 (ed. W. Gundlach, *MGH, Epist. Merov. et Karol.*, iii, 150), and her letter to the boy Athanagild, *ibid.*, 27. There is no evidence, however, that Brunhild wished to help Hermenegild before 585: *contra*, Goffart, *art. cit.*, 108.

[96] Greg. Tur., *HF*, ix, 16.

[97] *Ibid.*

[98] *Ibid.*, ix, 20, p. 439.

faith."[99] This was the only reference which any of the Frankish kings made to religion throughout these prolonged and somewhat tedious negotiations; and it is remarkable that religion was only mentioned when the marriage of the king's sister was under discussion. True, Recared had referred to his Catholicism when asking for peace in 587[100]; but there is no evidence that this carried weight with the Franks when they were considering the question of peace—they had signed a treaty with Recared when he was still an Arian.

At last, in 589, Guntram moved against Septimania. It was the last attack ever launched by the Franks upon the Visigoths. The Goths inflicted a heavy defeat on the Frankish general Boso near Carcassonne, killing about 5,000 men and taking more than 2,000 prisoners.[101] We shall consider the context of this war from the Spanish point of view on a later page; but it is already clear enough that there is no evidence for the view that Guntram had religious or sectarian motives for attacking Septimania or that religion played any significant part in any of the Frankish kings' negotiations with Spain.

Recared was converted to Catholicism about February 587,[102] and, as we have mentioned, he had himself baptized in secret. According to Gregory of Tours, three preliminary meetings were held by Recared before the Third Council of Toledo met. They were (i) a meeting of "the bishops of his religion," at which he proposed that they should meet the Catholic bishops in order to find out what was the true faith; (ii) a joint meeting of Arian and Catholic bishops at which a debate ensued, and Recared pointed out that no miracle of healing had been performed by the Arians—he reminded them of how in his father's time an Arian bishop had undertaken to cure a blind man but had failed; and (iii) a meeting of Catholic bishops without the Arians summoned by Recared, at which the king was convinced by them of the truth of Catholicism and joined the Catholic Church.[103] There followed finally the Third Council of Toledo itself, which opened in the Visigothic capital on 8 May 589; and it is noteworthy that at least three of the Catholic bishops who signed the canons

[99] *Ibid.*, ix, 25.

[100] *Ibid.*, ix, 16.

[101] *Ibid.*, ix, 31, Jo. Biclar., *s.a.*, 589 (ii, 218), says that scarcely 300 Visigoths defeated about 60,000 Franks in this battle! Cf. also Fredegar, iv, 10.

[102] Recared, addressing the Third Council of Toledo, said that his conversion was made known to the Catholic bishops "non multos post decessum genitoris nostri dies" (Mansi, ix, 977 f.); but Jo. Biclar., *s.a.*, 587 (ii, 218), says that he became a Catholic in the tenth month of his reign. On the date of his accession see n. 91 above. The Catholic church of St. Mary at Toledo was dedicated on 12 April 587: Vives, 302, who points out, however, *ad loc.*, that the date of this inscription is not quite certain. I can find no evidence to support Altamira's view, *op. cit.*, 172, that Recared's conversion "was heralded . . . by a decree which put an end to the persecution of the Catholics." There is no evidence for anti-Catholic measures in 585–6.

[103] Greg. Tur., *HF*, ix, 15. Jo. Biclar., *s.a.*, 587 (ii, 218), mentions first a meeting of Recared with the Arian bishops, at which the king persuaded the bishops to go over to Catholicism, and secondly, *s.a.*, 590, the Third Council itself. For the incident of the miraculous cure of a blind man see Greg. Tur., *In Glor. Confess.*, 13.

of the Council bore Gothic names and were presumably Visigoths who had been converted before the general conversion of their people took place.[104] On the other hand, only eight ex-Arian bishops, all bearing Germanic names, signed a profession of the Catholic faith, though an unspecified number of ex-Arian priests and deacons did so, too. But of these eight bishops only four came from the Visigothic kingdom as it had been at Leovigild's accession to the throne: the sees of the other four all lay in what had been the Suevic kingdom of Gallaecia until 585 when Leovigild had overthrown the Sueves and had incorporated their realm in his own.[105] Now, it is true that we have no complete list of the Arian bishopric of Spain; but it can hardly be doubted that they numbered far more than four[106] and that many bishops must have refused to sign at Toledo—indeed, we shall meet one or two of them in a moment. What is most remarkable is that not only the chronicler John of Biclaro but also King Recared himself in his *tomus* addressed to the Council asserted that the Sueves of Gallaecia, too, were now won over to Catholicism.[107] But they had already been converted by the celebrated St. Martin, bishop of Braga, about the years 550–60 (n. 2 above), and it will hardly be thought that Leovigild had had time to compel or to persuade them to revert to Arianism after he destroyed their kingdom in 585. How are we to account for these facts? I would suggest that after Leovigild removed the last Suevic king and incorporated Gallaecia in his own Arian kingdom, Arianism had become *ipso facto* the official religion of the Sueves; and even though at least four Arian bishoprics had been re-established by him, as we have just seen, it does not necessarily follow that many Sueves had taken the hint and had reverted to Arianism.

Between the time of Recared's personal conversion about February 587 and the holding of the Third Council of Toledo in May 589 Recared had to deal with severe disturbances and revolts among his subjects. One conspiracy

[104] Among the Catholic signatories of III Toledo (Mansi, ix, 1001) are Neusila, bishop of Tuy, Ermaricus, who is described as *Laniobrensis*, and Sumila, bishop of Vizeu, who were all presumably Visigoths. The canons were also signed by Hildemir *archipresbyter Auriensis* (= of Orense), but we cannot be certain that he was not one of the "reliqui presbyteri et diaconi ex haerese Ariana conversi." (I do not know what was the nationality of Mutto, who also signed.)

[105] So L. Duchesne, *L'Église au VI^e siècle* (Paris, 1925), 577.

[106] *Ibid.*, 377, n. 1, though Duchesne would seem to go too far when he suggests that, at any rate since Leovigild's reign, there may have been one Arian bishop for each city of the Visigothic kingdom. The Visigoths appear not to have distributed themselves over the whole of Spain but to have lived mostly in the triangle formed by the cities of Palencia, Toledo, and Calatayud: see W. Reinhart, "Sobre el asentimiento de los Visigodos en la Peninsula," *Archivo español de Arqueología*, xviii (1945), 124–39, J. Werner, *Germania*, xxviii (1944–50), 279–81. Hence, many Spanish cities may have contained few or no Arians. But Duchesne is right when he goes on to say (*ibid.*) that "Les convertis ont bien l'air de ne représenter qu'une faible partie de ce personnel."

[107] Jo. Biclar., *s.a.*, 587 (ii, 218) "gentemque omnium Gothorum et Suevorum ad unitatem et pacem revocat Christianae ecclesiae," Recared's *tomus* in Mansi, ix, 979, "quin immo et Suevorum gentis infinita multitudo, quam praesidio caelesti nostro regno subiecimus, alieno licet vitio in haeresim deductam, nostro tamen ad veritatis originem studio revocavimus." Cf. Görres, *art. cit.* (in n. 49 above), 58.

was headed by the bishop of Mérida, Sunna or Siuma, whom we have met already (p. 16 above). He was joined by certain very wealthy Visigoths, some of whom were *comites civitatum*, and actually by a large number of Catholics (p. 29 below); but the conspiracy was betrayed by Witteric, who was to become king of Visigothic Spain at a later date (603–10), and it was suppressed without difficulty.[108] Recared offered to appoint Sunna as bishop of some other city if he would accept the Catholic faith; but Sunna proudly refused, and declared himself ready to die for the cause of Arianism. He was exiled to Mauretania, where he made many converts to Arianism.[109] The most serious of the revolts broke out in Narbonne. Two wealthy and noble counts called Granista and Wildigern along with the Arian bishop Athalocus and many other Arians, rose in rebellion and brought an "infinite multitude" of Catholic Franks into Septimania: these were the forces of Guntram (p. 24 above), who thus intervened in Spain against the Catholic interest. Recared was able to crush these, too, though not before many Catholics had been killed.[110] Early in 589, before the Third Council of Toledo met in May, another bishop, Uldida (or Uldila) by name, joined with Goiswintha, the widow of Leovigild, whom we have already met more than once, in an attempt to overthrow Recared and disestablish Catholicism. Both Uldida and Goiswintha had gone momentarily over to Catholicism but now relapsed into Arianism.[111] Yet another revolt, that led by Argimundus *dux provinciae*, broke out after the Third Council, but there is no evidence in this case that the

[108] *Vitas SS. Patrum Emeretensium*, v, 10, 1 ff., Jo. Biclar., *s.a.*, 588 (ii, 218). Others of the conspirators were called Vagrila and Segga. The author of the *Vitas* suppresses the cruel punishment of Segga who, like Argimundus in 590, had his hands cut off. Witteric amputated the hand of King Leuva II in 603 before putting him to death: Isidore, *Hist. Goth.*, 57 (ii, 290). If the amputation of a hand, a rare punishment in Visigothic law, was a penalty inflicted on usurpers (see R. S. Lopez, "Byzantine Law in the Seventh Century and its Reception by the Germans and the Arabs," *Byzantion*, xvi (1942–3), 445–61, esp. 454 f.), it looks as though the aim of the conspirators in Mérida was to put Segga on the throne. (Leuva II will have been a usurper in Witteric's eyes, as he ascended the throne as Recared's son and not by election.) There is no valid evidence that Witteric, when he became king, tried to restore Arianism: F. Görres, "Weitere Beiträge z. Kirchen- und Culturgeschichte d. Vormittelalters," *Zeitschrift f. wissenschaftliche Theologie*, xli (1891), 77–111, at 102–5, Garvin, *op. cit.*, 497, though the view that he did was accepted by Altamira, *op. cit.*, 173, and has unfortunately been revived by Lot, Pfister, and Ganshof, *op. cit.*, 236, Torres, *op. cit.*, 112, Goubert, *art. cit.*, 67 f., and Aigrain, *op. cit.*, 236. Note, too, that there is no indication that Witteric's daughter Ermenberta was an Arian or that she had had to be converted from Arianism when she married the Frankish king Theuderic in 606–7: Fredegarius, iv, 30. The extent of the opposition to Catholicism in and before 589 is seriously understated by Ziegler, *op. cit.*, 25, 33, and the Arian rebellions are somewhat lightly passed over by Goubert, *art. cit.* (see his p. 53).

[109] *Vitas SS. Patrum Emeretensium*, v, 11, 12 ff. Cf. the refusal of the Vandal king Gelimer to become a Catholic even when offered the bribe of an appointment as Patrician: Procopius, *BV*, iv, 9, 14.

[110] *Vitas SS. Patrum Emeretensium*, iv, 12, 1–5, with Garvin, *op. cit.*, 511 f. Greg. Tur., *HF*, ix, 15, mentions Athalocus but not his association with the forces of Guntram. He seems to suggest that Athalocus died a natural death.

[111] Jo. Biclar., *s.a.*, 589 (ii, 218), cf. Isidore, *Hist. Goth.*, 55 (ii, 290) "multi quoque adversus eum [= Recared] tyrannidem adsumere cupientes detecti sunt suaeque machinationis consilium inplere non potuerunt."

aim of the rebels was the restoration of Arianism.[112] It looks, in fact, as though the long interval which elapsed between the personal conversion of Recared in February 587 and the meeting of the Third Council in May 589 is to be explained, at any rate in part, by the king's desire to crush the opposition before announcing the official conversion. At all events, there is no parallel in the reign of any of the other kings of Spain for so many revolts against the throne.

Recared lost little time in pressing home his victory. He at once began the burning of Arian books, a policy in which he was only too successful, for not a single Gothic text has survived in Spain. (He was not the first German ruler to order the burning of books: he had been forestalled in this occupation by the Vandal king Huneric, who in 484 learned the practice from the Catholic Roman Emperors.[113]) Recared banned Arians from employment in the public service,[114] and the forcible conversion of Arians was not unknown—that Agila, who spoke to Gregory of Tours so warmly and yet so tolerantly on behalf of Arianism (p. 10 above), was converted to Catholicism *necessitate cogente*.[115] The Catholic priests now began to legislate on civil affairs with the sanction of the civil power. At the Fourth Council of Toledo in 633, alleging the instructions of King Sisenand, the clergy actually absolved themselves from the necessity of paying taxes.[116] And even at the Third Council in 589 the bishops were declared to be the overseers of the judges with power to suspend them from attending church and partaking of communion if they thought fit.[117] Moreover, the local synod held at Narbonne in 589 enacted that Jews and others should rest on the Christian Sabbath, and for breach of this ruling it obliged freemen to pay 6 solidi to the *comes civitatis*, and slaves to receive 100 lashes. The same synod instructed Jews to bury their dead without singing Psalms: penalty, 6 ounces of gold payable to the *comes*.[118] And it also laid down that those who consulted soothsayers should pay the same fine to the *comes*, while the soothsayers themselves should be beaten and sold,

[112] Jo. Biclar., *s.a.*, 590 (ii, 219). If Argimundus had sought to restore Arianism, would not John have mentioned this? See Dahn, *op. cit.* (in n. 35 above), 165, Görres, *art. cit.*, 95–7. On the title *dux provinciae* see *Hermathena*, xc (1957), 55–7. There was opposition to the Catholic Rechiarius when he became king of the Sueves of Gallaecia in 448: Hydatius, 137 (ii, 25); but, unfortunately, we are not told whether this was due to his Catholicism. Observe that he married the daughter of the Arian Visigoth Theodoric I: *ibid.*, 140.

[113] Fredegarius, iv, 8, cf. Scott, *op. cit.*, 207. For Huneric see Victor Vitensis, *Hist. Persec.*, iii, 10.

[114] Greg. Magn., *Dial.*, iii, 31.

[115] Greg. Tur., *HF*, v, 43 *fin.*, though Jo. Biclar., *s.a.*, 587 (ii, 218), says that the conversion of the Arian bishops was carried through "ratione potius quam imperio," which is not true of the bishops Athalocus, Uldida, and Sunna. An *Agila* signed the *acta* of the Third Council of Toledo, and it would be of great interest to know whether he was the Agila who spoke to Gregory of Tours. If he was, it would follow that one at least of the signatories was forced to sign the *acta*.

[116] Canon 47 (Mansi, x, 631).

[117] III Toledo 18 (*ibid.*, ix, 997), cf. IV Toledo 32 (*ibid.*, x, 628). See Recared's law in *Legg. Visig.*, xii, 1, 2 *fin.*, with K. Zeumer, *NA*, xxiv (1899), 87.

[118] Canons 4 and 9 (Mansi, ix, 1015 f.). See further III Toledo 14 (*ibid.*, 996).

their price being given to the poor.[119] There is no evidence that the Arian bishops had had any power of legislating on civil affairs[120]; but in the very year of the establishment of Catholicism the basis was laid for the clerical terror and for the hideous persecution of the Jews which disfigured Visigothic history throughout the seventh century. After 589 the Church became an organ of repression such as had been unknown in the Arian kingdom; and the repression was successful, for after Recared's reign no more is heard of Arianism in Spain.

IV. Conclusions

What conclusions are we to draw from this somewhat complex narrative? Our first conclusion is that the barbarian kings, whether Arian or Catholic, Visigothic or Frankish, did not allow sectarian considerations to weigh very heavily when they were choosing their enemies and their allies at several important crises of their history. This fact was strikingly illustrated by the activities of the various Frankish kings in the eighties of the sixth century. They did nothing to help the Catholic Hermenegild; but when his wife, the Frank Ingundis, died in exile, they at once began to menace the Visigoths. When Guntram finally moved against Spain so as to avenge Ingundis' death, he actually allied himself to Visigothic rebels who were fighting to disestablish Catholicism in Spain. It is impossible to hold that the Franks cared very seriously whether their enemies or their allies shared their religious beliefs, and we must be careful before we speak of a Frankish "crusade" against the Arians of Spain.[121] But we have seen that in this behaviour the Franks introduced no novelty into sixth-century history: they were not without precedents.

Secondly, although it is impossible to characterize precisely the forces which took part on either side in the rebellions of Recared's reign, it is clear that the conversion to Catholicism was resisted by the common people both among the Visigoths and the Burgundians and perhaps even among the Franks (n. 90 above); and in Spain this opposition was supported and led by some of the aristocracy, both clerical and lay. The conversion did not originate at court—there were Catholic Visigoths before 589 just as there were Catholic Burgundians before 516—and the conversion of the king was hardly the decisive step. It should not be thought that once a Germanic chief had decided to change his religion his fellow-tribesmen would inevitably follow his example. In fact, we know of several cases at later dates where chieftains who accepted the Christian faith and abandoned the traditional paganism were not followed

[119] Canon 14 (*ibid.*, 1017).

[120] As for the jurisdiction of Catholic bishops in the Arian kingdom, the provisions of Roman law remained in force: see Ziegler, *op. cit.*, 137 f. They would, of course, have no jurisdiction over Visigoths.

[121] Contrast P. Goubert, *Byzance avant l'Islam*, ii, i (Paris, 1955), 17, 18, 46, *et saepe*; cf. Aigrain, *op. cit.*, 336.

by the rank and file of their peoples[122]; and there is evidence that the Visigothic, the Burgundian, and even the Frankish kings did not consider it at all inevitable that their decision to embrace Catholicism would be acceptable to their subjects. Even the optimates might not be convinced of the wisdom of the king's action when he altered his religious beliefs. True, among the Burgundians the nobles may have been more or less unanimous in deserting Arianism, but we have seen that this was not at all the case in Spain. There the ruling class, in so far as it was composed of Visigoths, was irreconcilably split on this issue, and Catholicism was only established by force of arms.

These two conclusions seem certain enough and indeed are not unfamiliar. But our third deduction from the facts must be more tentative. In connexion with the revolt of the Visigothic bishop Sunna one of our authorities says that "Sunna convinced some of the Goths who were of noble birth and exceedingly wealthy . . ., and separated them along with an innumerable multitude of the people from the ranks of the Catholics and the bosom of the Catholic Church" and caused them to join the conspiracy against Recared.[123] The words show that these Goths, both the wealthy among them and the "multitude," had been Catholics: it is not said that, like Uldida and Goiswintha (p. 26 above), they had gone over with Recared when he was converted in 587, but that they now thought better of it and allowed themselves to be persuaded to desert him and support the Arian cause.[124] In other words, for these men the central issue was not a religious one at all. They were prepared to fight and die —but not, it seems, on religious grounds only. They were prepared to join Sunna in opposing Recared, but at the cost of sacrificing their religious convictions. How then are we to characterize the movement of opposition to Recared? It is tempting to recall that Leovigild, following the general practice of the Visigothic Arians in Spain, termed Catholicism the "Roman" religion while Arianism was "ours," that the only two Spaniards specifically known to have been harmed by him because of their religious opinions were two Visigoths who had become important Catholic dignitaries, and that the unparalleled series of revolts against Recared bore an exclusively Visigothic

[122] Adam of Bremen, ii, 58, iv, 27 Schol. 140 (ed. Schmeidler, 259), cf. Rimbertus, *Vita S. Anskarii* 17 (ed. Waitz, 38). When the two Hewalds went to the Saxons *c.* 700 the villagers killed them in case, if they got access to the chief of the *pagus*, they might convert him "and so their whole province would gradually be compelled to exchange their old religion for the new one," Bede, *HE*, v, 10. I suspect that several times a situation may have arisen among the Germans similar to that reported by Helmold, *Chron. Slavorum*, i, 25, speaking of certain Slavs at a much later date: "at tamen status Buthue semper erat infirmus nec ad plenum roborari potuit, eo quod Christiano parente natus et amicus principum apud gentem suam ut proditor libertatis haberetur." Observe that after the chief and the leading men had won over the bulk of their followers to Christianity they would sometimes try to coerce the refractory remnant who had remained pagan: Bede, *HE*, ii, 5 (ed. Plummer, 90 *fin.*), Eddius, *Vita S. Wilf.*, 41. So Recared's use of force against his religious opponents of his own nationality is not an unexampled phenomenon in early German history.

[123] *Vitas SS. Patrum Emeretensium*, v, 10, 1 f.

[124] Jo. Biclar., *s.a.*, 589 (ii, 218) "quam [= the Catholic faith] sub specie Christiana quasi sumentes proiciunt," sc. Uldida and Goiswintha.

character. Again, it was a Roman called Claudius, *dux* of Lusitania, who suppressed two of these revolts (those of Uldida and of Sunna); and it was he, too, who defeated the Catholic Frankish invaders of Septimania who had come to the help of the Arian rebels.[125] It might not be unreasonable to suppose that some Visigoths saw the events of 589 not only as a struggle between Arianism and Catholicism, but also, and perhaps chiefly, as a struggle between Roman and Visigoth. The victory of Catholicism was in some sense a defeat for the Visigothic element in the population of Spain, or at any rate it may have been thought to be such by a considerable number, though not by all, of the Visigoths.[126] Accordingly, we may suggest that Leovigild attacked John of Biclaro and Masona of Mérida not because they were Catholics but because they were Visigoths who had gone over to Catholicism. There is no reason to think that they were in any way connected with Hermenegild's revolt, but they were in Leovigild's opinion traitors to the Gothic cause at a critical time. We may think that in Leovigild's opinion it was the duty of all Visigoths to accept the compromise with Arianism which he offered to the Catholics. Indeed, his offer may have been directed specifically towards those Visigoths who had become Catholic and not to the Catholic Romans, for there is little evidence that he brought pressure to bear on the Catholic Romans of Spain in this connexion. Why he singled out John and Masona for special treatment rather than the other Visigoths who are known to have been Catholic bishops at that time is obscure: it may have been because of these two men's prominence and distinction.

Now, in this connexion it is relevant to recall a suggestion put forward by K. D. Schmidt.[127] This scholar points to the fact that we do not hear from any of our authorities that the Visigothic Arian Church in Spain made efforts to propagate Arianism among the Roman population of their kingdom. On the contrary, they made the transition from Catholicism to Arianism very difficult by insisting until 580 (p. 20 above) on re-baptism as a condition for entering the Arian Church. It looks, in fact, as though they did not wish to diffuse Arianism among the Romans; and Schmidt thinks that this was so

[125] Jo. Biclar., *s.a.*, 589 (ii, 218), Isidore, *Hist. Goth.*, 54 (ii, 289).

[126] The Visigothic element in Spain must also have been weakened, and may have been disastrously weakened, by Chindaswinth's slaughter of 200 *primates* and 500 *mediocres* after he became king in 641 (Fredegarius, iv, 82), by King Wamba's suppression of the revolt of Paulus in 673 (see the *Iudicium*, 4, printed in *MGH, Script. rer. Merov.*, v, 533), and by King Egica's suppression of the revolt of Sisbert, archbishop of Toledo, in 692: XVI Toledo 9 and 12 (Mansi, xii, 76 ff.), cf. *Legg. Visig.*, ii, 5, 19. Both of these revolts were predominantly Visigothic in character. The rebellion of Sisbert seems to have led to the usurpation of one Suniefredus, who is known only from a single coin, minted at Toledo: see P. Beltrán, "Iudila y Suniefredo, reyes visigodos," *Ampurias*, iii (1941), 97–104, at 101–4, Miles, *op. cit.* (in n. 40 above), 37 f., 405. The suppression of Suniefredus will have led to further Visigothic losses. The *Contin. Isidor.*, 53 (ii, 349), says of Egica: "hic Gothos acerva morte persequitur," cf. *Hist. Pseudo-Isidor.*, 18 (ii, 387), "post Aicas [= Egica] regnavit super Gothos . . . et humiliavit eos et ad terram prostravit," which passages, according to Aigrain, *op. cit.*, 258 f., relate in particular to Egica's suppression of these revolts. Observe, on the other hand, that no distinctively Roman rebellion against the Visigothic kings is reported from any period of the history of the Visigothic kingdom.

[127] *Die Bekehrung d. Germanen zum Christentum* (Göttingen, 1939), i, 297 f.

because, if masses of Romans had entered the Arian Church, the distinction between Roman and Visigoth would have been blurred in an important respect —and the Visigothic kings of Spain thought it important to keep the distinction sharp and clear-cut. Schmidt's case is not controverted by the fact that Theodoric II and Leovigild tried to convert the Sueves of Gallaecia to Arianism: the Sueves were Germans, and it was over against the Romans that the Visigoths wished to preserve their social identity. Nor is Schmidt's case disproved by the fact that individual Catholics both in the Visigothic and in the Burgundian kingdom were converted to Arianism,[128] for there is no evidence that these persons were very numerous or that they were won over by an organized, systematic missionary campaign on the part of the barbarian Arians. If Schmidt is right, it is not hard to see why Leovigild was displeased by the Catholicism of John of Biclaro and Masona: the weakening of Arianism by the defection of such eminent men meant a weakening of the Visigoths themselves —and this at a time when they were rent by civil war. The facts are perhaps best accounted for if we suppose that in 580 Leovigild was trying to reach a compromise not between Arian Visigoths and Catholic Romans but between Arian Visigoths and Catholic Visigoths, and that the conversion of such men as Vincentius, bishop of Saragossa, was incidental.

But when we ask why in that case Recared and his adherents carried the conversion through by violent measures, the answer is not at all clear. There would seem to have been some force at work which drove the new king to take this step towards unifying his two peoples even though his action was opposed to the traditions of the Visigothic throne and even though the price which he had to pay was high. This force, whatever it may have been, revealed itself in important ways even in the reign of Leovigild himself. In the first place, Leovigild may have been prepared at a time of crisis in his reign to blur the distinction between Gothic Arianism and Roman Catholicism by facilitating the transition of Romans to a modified form of Arianism, though, as we have suggested, he disliked the transition of Visigoths to Catholicism. His main object, however, seems to have been a compromise between Arian and Catholic Visigoths; but even if this was the case, his attempt at compromise was by no means without support among the Catholic Romans of Spain, though Duchesne probably goes too far in saying: "un moment on put croire que le roi en était venu à ses fins et que l'unité religieuse s'était accomplie conformément à son programme."[129] Secondly, it was Leovigild who removed the ban on intermarriage between Goths and Romans,[130] and it is most regrettable that we do not know the date at which he did so. This ban had been a major factor in keeping the two races distinct, for intermarriage had

[128] *Concilium Epaonense* (A.D. 517), canon 29, referring to the Burgundian kingdom. See also n. 28 above.

[129] *Op. cit.* (in n. 105 above), 571.

[130] *Legg. Visig.*, iii, 1, 1, on which see K. Zeumer, "Geschichte d. westgothischen Gesetzgebung," *NA*, xxiii (1898), 421–516, at 477 ff., and *ibid.*, xxiv (1899), 573–630, at 573 ff.

been a capital offence both in Roman and in Visigothic law (though the law appears to have been broken in a number of cases before Leovigild removed the ban.[131]) A Goth was now free to marry a Roman provided that he or she could obtain the consent of their kindred; and it is unfortunate that we have no means of saying how many took advantage of their freedom of choice or how many Catholics became Arians as a result of doing so. In other respects, too, there is reason to think that Leovigild's legislation and his revision of the Visigothic law-code put Goths and Romans on an equal footing, and it is an error to think that "die nationale gotische Richtung hatte ihren letzten starken Vertreter in König Leowigild."[132] Again, in the earlier period of the Visigothic kingdom the king's dress and bearing differed little from those of his followers, but this ceased to be the case in Leovigild's reign; for Leovigild took on Byzantine pomp, surrounded himself with Byzantine ceremonial, and "seated himself upon a throne."[133] Recared followed in his father's footsteps

[131] That the effectiveness of the ban was breaking down is suggested by the words of the law: "exultare debet libertas ingenita, cum fractas vires habuerit prisce legis abolita sententia," which Zeumer, *art. cit.*, 574, n. 1, translates "die Freiheit (d.h. der Stand der Freien) muss frohlocken, wenn die (Gesetzes)-Kraft eines (thatsächlich bereits) in Abgang gekommenen Gesetzes beseitigt wird," and he goes on: "Gemeint ist wohl, dass die sententia legis erst jetzt durch die formelle Aufhebung abolita werde." Specific cases of intermarriage like those of Fravittas and Athaulf in an earlier day are rarely recorded, but one is apparently indicated in Vives, 86, "Sinticio . . . cognomento Dindomum paterno traens linea Getarum," a tombstone dated to 632 found at Salacia; but Sinticio was born in 572 (not 562, as Zeumer, *NA*, xxiv (1899), 575), so that it is just possible that his parents were married after Leovigild had changed the law. See also Vives, 360, 371. Another possible case is that of Diusvirus and Wiliesinda, who lived in Narbo late in the fifth century: Fiebiger-Schmidt, *Inschriftensammlung*, 99, who make the couple Burgundian. But Narbo was never in Burgundian hands. The Theudis who married a wealthy Roman woman of Spain, according to Procopius, *BG*, v, 12, 50, was not a Visigoth but an Ostrogoth. The old view that the first wife of Leovigild himself was a Roman is baseless and was wisely rejected long ago by Scott, *op. cit.*, 196; but it has unexpectedly reappeared in Dalton, *op. cit.* (in n. 41 above), i, 182, n. 2, Giesecke, *op. cit.* (in n. 36 above), 105, Torres, *op. cit.* (in n. 49 above), 99 f., and in Miles, *op. cit.* (in n. 40 above), 22. For the marriage of a Roman with a Suevic woman of Gallaecia see Vives, 502–3 (A.D. 634), and long ago Wallia's daughter had married a Sueve: Sidonius, *carm.*, ii, 361 f. It was against the custom of the Rugi to marry a foreign woman: Procopius, *BG*, vii, 2, 3; but the position in Vandal Africa is obscure: Courtois, *op. cit.*, 220, n. 3. In Ostrogothic Italy intermarriage continued to be banned by Roman law (Mommsen, *Ges. Schr.*, vi, 475), but seems to have been permitted in the Burgundian kingdom (*Legg. Burg.*, xii, 5), and among the Franks: indeed, a Roman lady became Frankish queen in 533, when Theudebert of Reims married Deoteria (Greg. Tur., *HF*, iii, 23): see F. Lot, *Les invasions germaniques* (Paris, 1945), 215 f.

[132] K. Zeumer, *NA*, xxiii (1898), 477 f. This is also the judgement of H. Brunner, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte*[2] (Leipzig, 1906), i, 489, who writes: "Leovigilds legislatorische Tätigkeit bewegte sich in der Richtung einer Ausgleichung der zwischen Römern und Goten bestehenden Gegensätze," etc., cf. Altamira, *op. cit.*, 173. The quotation in the text is from E. Gamillscheg, *Romania Germanica* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1934), i, 355, an inaccurate page: where I have been able to test it, Gamillscheg's work does not always seem persuasive.

[133] Isidore, *Hist. Goth.*, 51 (ii, 288), "primusque inter suos regali veste opertus solio resedit: nam ante eum et habitus et consessus communis ut populo, ita et regibus erat." For possible numismatic confirmation of this see Miles, *op. cit.*, 48. It has been well pointed out by P. Grierson, *Numismatic Chronicle* (1953), 81, n. 12, how "in this, as in other respects of Leovigild's policy, . . . he was imitating Byzantium and asserting his independence of it at the same time." Theodoric the Ostrogoth wore the purple by permission of the Emperor Zeno: Anon. Vales., 53, Jordanes, *Get.*, lvii, 295, cf. Procopius, *BG*, v, 1, 26, but Odoacer had not worn the Imperial insignia at all: Cassiodorus, *Chron.*, *s.a.*, 476 (ii, 159).

by introducing a new principle into Visigothic legislation. Hitherto, Romans and Visigoths had lived under two separate legal systems, the Romans under Alaric's *Breviarium* and the Visigoths under their own kings' laws. The two sets of laws had been sharply distinguished from one another. But all three of Recared's laws which have survived in the Visigothic code were intended to apply not only to the Goths of his realm but to the Romans as well. This was the first indication of a common "Reichsrecht" of universal application.[134] And this trend in Visigothic legislation was continued in the Spanish kingdom until King Recceswinth abolished the use of Roman law altogether in or soon after 654: thenceforth, until the kingdom was destroyed by the Muslims in 711, all the inhabitants of Spain alike were subject to one and the same code of laws. Leovigild, too, was the first Visigothic monarch to coin money in his own name, though he was not the first barbarian king to do so—he had been anticipated by Theudebert of Reims, the grandson of Clovis (died 548), who struck gold *solidi* and *trientes* bearing his own effigy.[135] It is easy, of course, to see that these measures were not all consistent with one another: the abolition of Roman law presumably elevated the Goths at the expense of the Romans, while other innovations furthered the Romanization of the Goths. But all alike aimed at fusing the two peoples. Archaeology has thrown some light on this question: it shows that the period of the conversion to Catholicism coincides with the final abandonment of the old Gothic style of dress, the disappearance of what H. Zeiss calls the "Gothic" fibulae and buckles, the end of the custom of burying goods along with the dead, and the beginning of a time when the influence of East Roman crafts makes itself strongly felt—in the finds of the seventh century the Germanic element has almost disappeared.[136]

It is clear, therefore, that it would be a mistake in method to study the conversion of the Visigoths to Catholicism in isolation from their history in general. The conversion took place in a context; and this context (if we may judge from the scanty evidence) consisted of a change in the general climate of opinion among much of the ruling class, a change which was tending even in Leovigild's reign to fuse the two nationalities which inhabited Spain (though the fusion was not complete even in 711). The trend towards a common code of law which would apply to Romans and Goths alike, the abolition of the ban on intermarriage, the establishment of the "Roman" religion as the official religion of the State, the abandonment of old Gothic customs and art-forms, suggest strongly that this fusion of the two peoples tended on the whole to elevate the Romans to the level of the Visigoths and to deprive the Visigoths of their privileged position. It is perhaps not without significance that a generation after Recared's death in December 601 the Spanish bishops

[134] See K. Zeumer, *NA*, xxiii (1898), 481 f., cf. xxiv (1899), 616.
[135] *Idem*, *NA*, xxiii (1898), 482 ff., Procopius, *BG*, vii, 33, 5.
[136] H. Zeiss, *Die Grabfunde aus d. spanischen Westgotenreich* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1934), 80, 126, 138, *et passim*.

thought fit to enact that the throne of Spain could be occupied by Visigoths only and not by Romans.[137] And it is well known that the seventh century saw a renaissance of Latin literature in Spain which, mediocre though it was, not only outdid anything that had been known in the Arian kingdom but even eclipsed contemporary France and Italy.[138] A full explanation of the conversion of the Visigoths to Catholicism, therefore, would account for the widespread move towards the Romanization of the kingdom which took place in the reigns of the Arian Leovigild as well as of the Catholic Recared, that is, in the period 568–601. This renaissance of Roman civilization (however debased it may have been) is all the more surprising when contrasted with the sharp decline of Roman civilization which took place at about this time in France and Italy. These years 568–601 are a watershed which divides the history of Visigothic Spain into two clearly separated periods. It is impossible to read our scanty sources for the 200 years of the Spanish kingdom without feeling the change of atmosphere which sets in during the reigns of Leovigild and his son and which increases in intensity as the seventh century proceeds. The comparative tolerance of the earlier sixth century is replaced by the terror, cruelty, and decay which characterize the seventh.

A full answer to our problem would also no doubt throw light on the reasons why the conversion of the Burgundians preceded that of the Visigoths by nearly three quarters of a century. This, presumably, must be associated with the fact—for it is generally assumed to be a fact—that the Burgundians were for some reason more Romanized than the Visigoths.[139] But in the case of the Burgundians it is not wholly clear why a foreign policy friendly to the Romans, together with the acceptance of some of the outer forms of Roman civilization, should necessarily have led to the acceptance of Catholicism by the barbarians; and, indeed, the nature and extent of this alleged Romanization of the Burgundians might well be more precisely defined than has hitherto been done. We shall also need to know why some peoples, who had been settled in the provinces for many years, never became Catholic at all. For forty years, from 476 until 516, a great belt of Arianism stretched half-way across Europe. The Gepid kingdom was centred around Belgrade; the followers of Odoacer and after them the Ostrogoths of Theodoric were in Italy, the Vandals in Africa, the Visigoths and Sueves in Spain, and the Visigoths and Burgundians in southern Gaul. In each case the Arian barbarians were a minority, perhaps a small minority, of the population of their kingdoms. The

[137] V Toledo, 3 (Mansi, x, 655), VI Toledo, 17 *fin.* (*ibid.*, 669).

[138] This is the judgement of Duchesne, *op. cit.*, 589 f.

[139] Cf. H. Zeiss, *Studien zu d. Grabfunden aus d. Burgundenreich an d. Rhone*, Sitzungsberichte d. bayer. Akad. d. Wissen: phil.-hist. Abteilung, Jahrg. 1938, Heft 7, 20–2, Giesecke, *op. cit.*, 140 ff. We know of a remarkable number of Romans who held positions of influence at Gundobad's court: their names are listed by Giesecke, *loc. cit.*, cf. Stroheker, *op. cit.* (in n. 10 above), 98 ff., but add the Silvanus (surely a Roman) who signed the Burgundian *Liber Constitutionum* a year or two after Gundobad's death (ed. de Salis, 34 f.).

first loss to Arianism came in 516 when the Burgundians were converted to Catholicism. The Byzantines overthrew the Vandals in 534 and the Ostrogoths in 554, and re-established Catholicism in Africa and Italy. The Gepid kingdom was destroyed by the Lombards in 572 (though this may not have brought much change in the sectarian position)[140]; and from that date until 589 the Visigoths, who had lost most of their possessions in Gaul in 507, were the only great Arian power in the West (although the Lombards had entered Italy in 568). Why was it that the Gepids, the Vandals, and the Ostrogoths were not converted to Catholicism at all? It is difficult to accept the view that the conversion of the Burgundians and the Visigoths originated solely in the personal convictions of their kings Sigismund and Recared. These men's personal opinions and beliefs will not explain why so many members of the two royal families—Gundobad as well as Sigismund and Clotilda among the Burgundians, and Leovigild (perhaps) and Hermenegild as well as Recared and his queen Badda among the Visigoths—were converted to Catholicism or were strongly attracted by it. Nor will they explain why Sigismund and Recared were able to carry the bulk of the ruling classes with them and doubtless a large proportion of the common people as well, for, as we have seen, it was not at all inevitable that the bulk of their followers should have supported the new policy of the two kings. As for the Gepids, the Vandals, and the Ostrogoths, it is hardly an explanation of their continued Arianism to point out that none of the kings of these peoples happened to become convinced of the truth of the Catholic dogma; for, at any rate in the case of the Gepids, we do not know that this was the case—and even if it was the case, we are still left with the fact that the conversion of any one people does not appear to have depended solely on the conversion of the king. It might well be argued that none of these peoples would have changed their religious beliefs unless their kings had given them a lead; but what we want to know is, not why one individual was converted, but why the general climate of opinion changed more or less suddenly in some cases and not at all in others, and what it was that brought about the radical change in the relations of the Romans and the barbarians, at any rate in Spain, of which the conversion to Catholicism was only a part.

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[140] Jo. Biclar., *s.a.*, 572 (ii, 212 f.), "Gepidorum regnum finem accepit, qui a Longobardis proelio superati: Cuniemundus rex campo occubuit et thesauri sui per Trasaricum Arrianae sectae episcopum et Reptilanem Cuniemundi nepotem Iustino imperatori Constantinopolim ad integrum perducti sunt." That the Gepids were Arians is explicitly stated by Procopius, *BV*, iii, 2, 5 f., *BG*, vii, 34, 23, and by Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita S. Sabae*, p. 176, 5, ed. E. Schwartz.

THE BEWCASTLE CROSS

The Bewcastle Cross is generally agreed to be one of the most important of the Anglo-Saxon sculptured stones that have come down to us. Even as it now stands, a shaft some 14 feet 6 inches high, made from a single piece of stone, its shattered top cut out to fit the dowel of the lost head, it is an impressive piece of work. The carving is fine and its programme ambitious. The west face has three figure panels representing (from top to bottom) St. John the Baptist bearing the Agnus Dei, Christ in majesty, His feet resting on two beasts, and St. John the Evangelist, an eagle on his wrist. An inhabited vegetable scroll occupies the full length of the east face, while the north and south faces each have five decorative panels of interlace, vegetable scroll and chequers, one of the southern vegetable scroll panels enclosing a sun-dial.[1] Further, the Bewcastle Cross bears a number of runic inscriptions, and Old English rune-stones are rare enough indeed—only about thirty-five of them are known—for every one to be of importance.

But the Bewcastle Cross has a particular importance in the study of both Northumbrian sculpture and Old English epigraphy because of its apparent dateability. Two of the inscriptions have been found to refer to people who can be dated from other sources. The latest monograph written about the cross transcribes the main inscription (Text II on p. 38) as "+ þis sigbecn þun setton wætred woþgær olwowolþu æft alcfriþum an kuniŋ eac oswiuŋ + gebiddaþ [hine sauulo]," and one of the texts of the north side (Text IV on p. 41) as "KYNIBURUG."[2] The main inscription is translated: "This slender victory sign set up Wætred, Wothgær, Olwowolthu in memory of Alcfrith, a King and son of Oswiu. + Pray for [his soul]," and the comment is made, "sufficient of the main inscription is legible for us to identify Alcfrith, the son of Oswiu (or Oswy), King of Northumbria, who was made under-King of Deira about 655. He married Cyneburuh, daughter of Penda of Mercia . . . He probably died before Oswiu (who died in 671) for the histories would surely otherwise have explained how he came to be passed over in the succession." The transcription and translation of this inscription by other scholars does not necessarily agree exactly with that quoted above, but it has been generally accepted in recent times that the names of Alchfrid and Cyniburg do appear on the Bewcastle Cross. Conclusions about its date have been drawn accordingly, and this great monument, so closely related to the equally important cross at Ruthwell, Dumfriesshire, has been seen as a fixed dating point on

[1] For a more detailed description see G. Baldwin Brown (with A. B. Webster), *The Arts in Early England*, Vol. V, London, 1921, pp. 127 ff.

[2] F. Willett, *The Ruthwell and Bewcastle Crosses*, Manchester Museum Publications, N.S. 7, 1958, pp. 20–1.

which a system of chronology for Anglo-Saxon sculptured stones can be based. So, R. H. Hodgkin[3] regards the Bewcastle Cross as "probably erected to his (Alchfrid's) memory by Wilfrid or some member of Wilfrid's party," and dates it "somewhere about 700," an opinion quoted with approval by T. D. Kendrick.[4] F. M. Stenton comments simply, "A much weathered inscription seems to record that the Bewcastle cross commemorated Alhfrith son of Oswiu and his wife Cyneburg, Penda's daughter."[5] Among recent art historians A. Gardner remarks that the Bewcastle inscription is "said to contain the names of several persons known to have been living about the year 670,"[6] while L. Stone argues that "if the runes on the cross do actually refer to Alcfrith, Wilfrid's old patron at Whitby, the erection of the monument cannot possibly be subsequent to the latter's death in 709."[7] The connexion between the Bewcastle Cross and Alchfrid and his queen is noted even by writers who reject the dating suggested by it. W. G. Collingwood, for example, finds it necessary to argue that the Bewcastle Cross, though established in memory of Alchfrid, was not set up until long after his death.[8] Clearly, then, a reconsideration of the Bewcastle Cross must begin with this point.

The first known mention of the Bewcastle Cross is that made by Reginald Bainbrigg in a collection of notes taken for a revised edition of Camden's *Britannia* during a tour of the North in 1601, the Bewcastle note now forming fº. 321 of MS. Cotton Julius F VI.[9] The cross was then where it now is, in the yard of the parish church of St. Cuthbert, Bewcastle (National grid reference 35/566746). When William Nicolson, the Cumberland cleric and antiquary, visited the village in 1685 the main inscription was so badly weathered as to be virtually unreadable.[10] The cross had then been in the open air for a considerable period of time, and indeed there is no reason to to doubt that, from the date of its first erection to the present day, the Bewcastle Cross has occupied the same exposed site, suffering there the impact of wind and weather. Weathering is not the only cause of damage to the cross. It may well have undergone deliberate attack, and has certainly suffered from the attempts of scholars of at least two centuries to clean, examine and record the texts engraved on it.[11] As a result, some parts of the inscriptions are

[3] *A History of the Anglo-Saxons*, Oxford University Press, 1935, pp. 300, 363.
[4] *Anglo-Saxon Art to A.D.* 900, London, 1938, pp. 133–4.
[5] *Anglo-Saxon England*, 2nd edn., Oxford University Press, 1947, pp. 150–1.
[6] *English Medieval Sculpture*, Cambridge University Press, 1951, p. 22.
[7] *Sculpture in Britain: the Middle Ages*, Harmondsworth, 1955, p. 10.
[8] *Northumbrian Crosses of the pre-Norman Age*, London, 1927, pp. 116–17.
[9] Bainbrigg's account is recorded in F. Haverfield, "Cotton Iulius F. VI. Notes on Reginald Bainbrigg of Appleby, on William Camden and on some Roman inscriptions," *Trans. Cumb. Westm. Ant. Archæol. Soc.*, N.S. XI, 1911, p. 355.
[10] W. Nicolson, "A letter . . . concerning a runic inscription at Beaucastle," *Philos. Trans. Royal Society*, XV, 1685, pp. 1287–91.
[11] For specific cases of such damage see R. S. Ferguson, "Report on injury to the Bewcastle obelisk," *Trans. Cumb. Westm. Ant. Archæol. Soc.*, XII, 1893, pp. 51–6; and W. S. Calverley, *Notes on the Early Sculptured Crosses, Shrines and Monuments in the Present Diocese of Carlisle* (ed. W. G. Collingwood), Kendal, 1899, p. 45.

illegible, others are uncertain. The following texts can now be identified on the stone[12]:

I. '[+]g[*e*]ssus | kristtus'

5 10 15

Rune height: from 2·1 (13) to 2·4 inches (9); width: 'e' = 1·3, 'r' = 0·8, 't' (13) = 0·8 inches.

Text I is cut in two lines in the space between the two top figure panels of the west face. This space, irregular because of the roughly rounded top of the Christ panel, is a minimum of 6 inches in height and *c.* 14·75 inches wide, no sign remaining of engraved side lines. The text is very faint, the cross-stave of 1 and the arms of 3 being quite lost, and the cross-staves of 4, 7, 11, 15 and the arms of 12 hard to distinguish. There is no reason, however, to doubt the usual reading +*gessus kristtus*.

II. This, the main inscription, is cut in nine lines in the space below the figure of Christ on the west face. It was set between engraved side lines, still partly traceable on the stone though clearer in photographs, which give a panel width of *c.* 14 inches. Panel height varies because of the rounded top of the figure panel below, but its minimum is 31·5 inches. The inscription is in a very bad state, but the following runes can be seen:

'+þissig b[.]c[◦] | *[◦]setto/nh | wætred [◦◦]þ |

5 10 15 20 25

gæra[◦]w[◦]wo[◦] | *[◦]ft[◦]lcfri | *m[◦]ngu

30 35 40 45 50

[.]ŋ | [◦]cb[◦◦◦◦]u/ŋ | [.]gebid[.] | [◦.]so[.]o'

55 60 65 70 75

Rune height: from 2·6 (44) to 3·1 inches (22): width: 'e' (15) = 1·3, 'æ' (30) = 0·6, 'w' (34) = 0·7, 't' (42) = 1·0 inches.

It is perhaps misleading to say that these runes can be seen. More accurately, depressions suggesting these runes can be seen, though some of them may have been made by accident or weather.[13] Besides this, incisions may have weathered

[12] Runes are transliterated according to the method described in B. Dickins, "A system of transliteration for Old English runic inscriptions," *Leeds Studies in English*, I, 1932, pp. 15 ff., and further in B. Dickins and A. S. C. Ross, *The Dream of the Rood*, London, 1934, p. 8. The asterisk is used to indicate characters of which the form is clearly visible but the value undetermined. The readings of the Bewcastle texts derive from a number of examinations of the cross between April 1956 and July 1958.

[13] A criticism that can be made of R. G. Collingwood's important drawing ("The Bewcastle Cross," *Trans. Cumb. Westm. Ant. Archæol. Soc.*, N.S. XXXV, 1935, p. 25) is that it makes too clear a distinction between incisions and accidental marks.

away completely, leaving the remains of one rune looking much like another. So, 'æ' could be confused with 'a' or 'o', 'l' with 'æ' or 't', 'f' with 'o', 'u' with 'y', 'e' with 'm', 'g̃' with 'k̃', and 'b' with 'w' or 'c'. An apparent 'i' form might be the remaining stem of a number of letters, and a number of forms could develop accidentally from 'i'. Finally, two stems, originally of separate runes, could be joined by accident into such two-stem letters as 'h', 'e', 'm', 'd'. Even the visible forms, then, must be received with caution.

Though these forms are visible, they are not always clear. The bows of 8, the arms of 15–18, 32, 75, the bow and tail of 47 are faint, while 52, 64 are altogether indistinct. The cross-staves of 25, 50, 70, the bow of 28, the centre of 53 are damaged. The surface has weathered away to the left of the incisions of 56 suggesting the possibility of the bind-rune 'i/ŋ' there.

Ambiguous fragments remain of some of the runes not yet accounted for. So, 27 is 'o', 'a' or, less likely, 'æ'; 33 is probably 'l', but 'æ', 'a' are not impossible; 35 is most likely 'o', but could be 'f'; 38 is 'æ' or 'l'; 40 'a' or 'æ'; 43 'o' or 'a'; 51 'æ', 'a' or 'l'; 57 'm' or 'e'; 60 'o', 'f' or, less likely, 'a'; 62 'm' or 'e'.

The forms which remain undescribed are:

9: two stems, called here S_1 and S_2, 1·3 inches apart, the surface between their tops worn away. From S_2 to the stem of 10 is 1·2 inches, unusually large if there were no arms or bows to the right of S_2. The surface here is much marked, most marks being due to accident or weather, but in some lights S_2 seems to have an arm as of 'l.'

11: a stem only, its lower half very faint, 1·5 inches from the stem of 10 and *c.* 1 inch from the side line.

13: a stem, its centre much worn, 0·9 inches from 12 and 1·2 inches from 14.

26: a very faint stem slightly to the left of mid-way between 25 and 27.

55: two faint stems, 1·4 inches apart, the first stem 0·8 inches from 54, the second 0·8 inches from 56.

61: two stems, 1 inch apart, with a cross-stave like that of H, but sloping down from right to left.

63: a faint and fragmentary stem 0·7 inches from 62 and *c.* 1 inch from 64.

65: a space, in which nothing can be traced, before the beginning of 66, 1·75 inches from the side line.

71: a space, in which nothing can be certainly seen, between 70 and the side-line 4·7 inches to its right.

72: two stems, 1·3 inches apart, with a cross-stave like that of H, but sloping down from left to right.

73: traces of stems 0·7, 1·3, 2·2, 3·3, 4·4 inches to the right of 72.

76: two 'u' forms, apparently joined by a cross-stave sloping down from left to right. 0·6 inches after the second 'u' is a faint stem, 1·3 inches from 77.

III. '[.] s s u/s'

1 23 4

Rune height: from 4·25 (2) to 4·5 inches (4): width: 'u' = 1·0, 's' (2) = 0·9 inches.

Text III is a single line of runes taking up the full width of the north face at the shaft head. Like other texts on the cross it has suffered weathering, and as in other texts at the shaft head the weathering has been particularly severe. Rain, collecting on the broken top and running down the sides, has worn deep grooves down the topmost parts of all four faces. These grooves are not easily distinguishable from incisions, and in some cases may coincide with them.

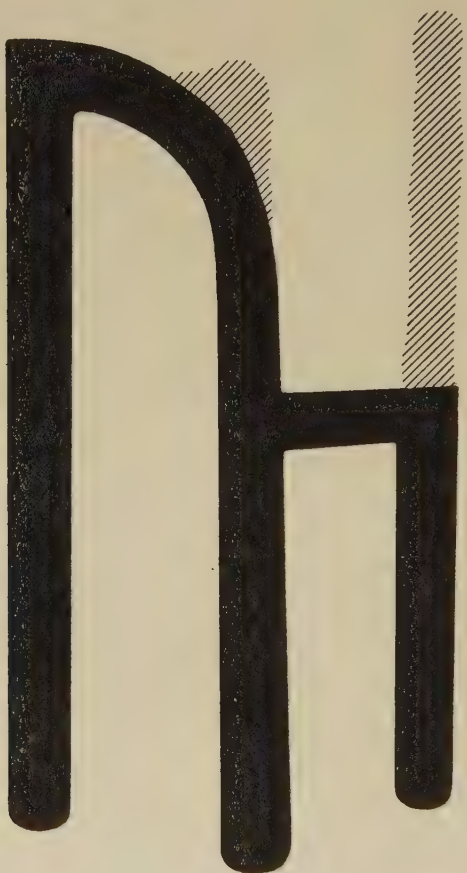


FIG. 1

The top left-hand corner of the north face is broken away, and the first characters of III are too badly damaged to be legible. The first legible rune, 2,

begins *c.* 7·25 inches from the face's original left-hand edge. About 0·5 inches to the left of 2 is a stem, before which, amid a number of weathering grooves, two more stems may be distinguished. Of the final letter complex the 'u' is clear, though its top is worn. Bound to the 'u' is the cross-stave of 's' with its right-hand stem. This stem seems to be full-length, though the part above the cross-stave is fainter, and may have been produced by weathering. A left-hand stem of 's', rising above the curve of the 'u' may also be traceable in the weather damage at that point (fig. 1).

Text III presumably gives a form of the name *Jesus*.

IV. 'k y n i b u r * g̃'

5

Rune height: from 1·65 (3) to 2·1 inches (1): width: 'k' = 1·2, 'b' = 0·6, 'n' = 0·5 inches.

Text IV is a single line of runes cut on the raised fillet, *c.* 2·4 × 13·8 inches, between the two lowest decorative panels of the north face. Engraved lines mark the sides of the runic panel. The fillet's top edge is fairly intact, its lower one damaged; in general, the runes seem to have been cut clear of the edges at top and bottom, though the top of 4 and the bases of 3, 4 and 6 probably ran out of the fillet. Though this face of the cross is sheltered by the church building, the stone surface has weathered, leaving, however, the runes quite legible. The very tops of 2 and 6 are lost, and the cross-stave of 3, the bows of 5 and the left-hand loop of 9 are faint. 4 is at a deeply eroded part of the surface, but the stem is clear, and there is no sign of a cross-stave of 'n', which has sometimes been read at this point.

V. Text V is a fragment of a single line of runes on the south face at the shaft head. The end of the text is broken away, and at the beginning it is hard to distinguish between incisions and weathering grooves. The following can be seen:

(i) a stem and arm as of 'l'. The arm, however, runs into a vertical groove, the top part of which could be an incision, forming the upper arm of 'o' or 'a'. Equally well, however, it could be a weathering groove, as its lower part almost certainly is. The reading 'li' is unlikely.

(ii) 'o'.

(iii) a stem, or groove, the base almost touching that of the arm of 'c'. To the right of this a much worn and grooved patch of surface.

VI. '[.] *g* e [.]'

1 2 3 4

'e' is 1·75 inches high, 1·1 wide.

Text VI is a single line of runes cut on the raised fillet, *c.* 2·3 × 15·5 inches, between the two lowest decorative panels of the south face. So worn is the surface that only one complete rune remains, 3, which begins 11·5 inches from the left-hand edge of the panel. Immediately preceding it is the lower half of 'g', and immediately following a stem with an arm or bow at its top. 1·2 inches further to the right is a second stem, 0·85 inches from the right-hand edge. This could be the stem of 'r', though the faint resemblance to that rune is more probably due to surface weathering.

No other texts can be seen on the cross, though the east and west faces of the shaft head have a number of weathering grooves, which may have originated in runic inscriptions similar to III and V. Texts identified by nineteenth century investigators on other fillets of the north and south faces need not be taken seriously. Finally must be mentioned the recorded inscription of the lost cross head. This will be considered in detail later.

The ascription of the Bewcastle Cross to Alchfrid and Cyniburg is based on Texts II and IV. But each of these texts has a form, rune*, which is clearly visible but not readily identifiable, and which appears at the points where the names of Alchfrid and Cyniburg have been found. Rune* is the initial letter of lines 2, 5 and 6 of Text II (runes 12, 39, 49) and the penultimate letter of Text IV (rune 8). Its most clearly defined form, as well as its most clearly defined context, is in Text IV. This shows it to be formed as 'u', but with most of the space between the two lines of that rune filled by two rounded bows, one above and touching the other, projecting to the right of the vertical stem. The base of the lower bow is very slightly above the stem base: the top of the upper bow is below the stem top. Where the two ends of a bow meet the stem they tend to be overcut and to project slightly beyond it. Alternatively, the upper bow could perhaps be regarded as two horizontal incisions running across the width of the 'u', the bow effect resulting from weathering of the stone surface where they meet the curved stem. The upward curve of the bottom of the lower bow is, however, quite clear (fig. 2 and plate I, *a*).

The lines of this example are clearly cut, though the incisions forming the bows vary in depth. There is little doubt that their lines are deliberate. If the bows are not part of the original inscription, they are most readily explained as the result of some attempt at alteration or cleaning. They cannot be due to weathering, and are unlikely to be caused by accident. An unprejudiced observer of the stone in its present state could not fail to notice them, and in any case would not read the letter as 'u'.

The three examples in Text II are similar in form to that in IV, though there is less doubt as to the intentional shape of the upper bows. These runes are,

however, severely weathered, and the bow incisions are particularly faint, so faint indeed as to suggest that they might have been formed accidentally —by numbers of students tracing with their fingers on Text II the form clearly found on IV. Certainly the loose stone surface could have been disturbed in such a way; but it should be noted that not until R. G. Collingwood's 1935 article was it recorded that there were three, *deliberately cut*, roughly horizontal incisions running across IV, 8, and by then the bows or cross-cuts were already noted on the three forms of the main inscription. The faintness of these marks is significant in that they might not be noticed by an observer who was not expecting to find them.

FIG. 2

There are here, then, four cases of an unusual runic form, and any interpretation must fit all four contexts. If the form is genuine, it can explained as:

(*a*) A special rune, probably invented in the north-west of the Anglo-Saxon area, and preserved only at Bewcastle. There are no other examples of unique Bewcastle runes, nor is this particular form found in non-epigraphical sources —in the various *fuporcs* and runic alphabets found in manuscripts. Moreover, the Bewcastle Cross is less advanced in the development of new runes than is the Ruthwell Cross. Bewcastle and Ruthwell are the only rune-stones to have the late character 'ḡ' but Ruthwell also has a further rune, the voiceless back stop symbol 'k̄', which Bewcastle does not use. We would not expect to find on Bewcastle an additional rune not used on Ruthwell.

(*b*) A bind-rune. Bewcastle certainly uses bind-runes: so, 'u/s' in III, 'o/n', 'u/ŋ' and perhaps 'i/ŋ' in II. Such bind-runes are found at the end of a line ('u/s', 'u/ŋ', 'i/ŋ') so that a name or sentence ends at the line end, or where a combination can be made easily ('o/n').[14] The examples of rune* fit neither

[14] This may have been a commonly used bind. It is evidenced, for example, on a rune-stone found at Kirk Maughold, Isle of Man, where the inscription, formerly read '-gmon', seems, in fact, to be '-gmo/n*'. The last symbol is a half-length stem, its top in line with the other stem tops; this may be a half-length 'i', or may be a punctuation dash ending the text.

of these conditions. There is no need spatially to make the binds—the three examples in II begin lines rather than ending them—and the form, far from being easily made, is complicated and full of curves difficult to cut.

Nevertheless, the majority of modern interpretations of Bewcastle II assume rune* to be the bind-rune 'ƿ/u', and this possibility must be further examined. It was first suggested by J. Maughan, local antiquary and rector of Bewcastle, in *A Memoir on the Roman Station and Runic Cross at Bewcastle*, London, 1857. He was the first to record[15] a single, upper, bow to the right of the vertical stem of the rune. His illustrations show[16] the form ᚹ for all four examples, and this is read as a bind of 'ƿ' and 'u'. For II he reads "B[EA]CN [THU]N", "ALWFWOL[THU]" and "ALCFRI[THU]," and for IV "KYNNBUR-(THU)G," making no attempt to explain the unusual form of the name's second element.

Maughan's reading has been followed substantially by most later students.

(*a*) G. Stephens, *The Old-Northern Runic Monuments of Scandinavia and England, now first collected and deciphered*, Vol. I, Copenhagen, 1866, pp. 398–404, takes his text from sketches, photographs and rubbings prepared by Maughan, and from an admittedly unsatisfactory cast of the main text. He has ᚹ for all examples in II, and reads "BECN ÞUN," "OLWFWOLÞU" and "ALCFRIÞU." Text IV he reads "KÜNNBURUG," admitting "*three* apparent bars or marks across the last U."[17] These are shown on his general view of the cross, but not on the separate drawing of IV. The interpretation of IV, 8, as 'ƿ/u' is rejected on the grounds of the impossibility of a form "KÜNNBURÞUG," and the marks across the penultimate letter are described as "chips and flaws, of which there are many scattered up and down among the letters."

Based on Stephens are the texts of H. Sweet, *The Oldest English Texts*, London, 1885, p. 124, and G. F. Browne, *The Ancient Cross Shafts at Bewcastle and Ruthwell*, Cambridge, 1916, p. 16.

(*b*) W. Vietor's transliteration, *Die northumbrischen Runensteine. Beiträge zur Textkritik. Grammatik und Glossar*, Marburg, 1895, pp. 13–16, is made with a prior knowledge of Maughan's and Stephens' texts, though Vietor views Maughan's readings with caution. He reads IV as "C'YNIBURUG'," rune 8 being described as "mehrfach quer verletztes U."[18] II, 12, is read as "U," II, 39 and 49, as "(U, mit Querstrichen)," while Vietor regards Maughan's "ALCFRIÞU" as "sehr wahrscheinlich."[19]

(*c*) The Calverley–Collingwood reading, *Notes on the Early Sculptured Crosses*, pp. 39–47, and W. G. Collingwood, "Remains of the pre-Norman

[15] *Op. cit.*, pp. 17–18.
[16] *Ibid.*, pp. 17, 28.
[17] *Op. cit.*, p. 404.
[18] *Op. cit.*, p. 14.
[19] *Ibid.*, p. 16.

period," *Victoria History of the County of Cumberland*, Vol. I, London, 1901, pp. 277–8, is that of Stephens, illustrated by a photograph of II with Maughan's letters painted in.

(*d*) There are three readings by G. Baldwin Brown: (1) in "Kreuz von Bewcastle," *Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde* (ed. J. Hoops), Vol. 1, Strassburg, 1911–13, pp. 272–4. IV is transliterated "CYNIBURYG," 8 being 'u' with a single line crossing it. Only part of II is given but that includes the reading "ALCFRITHU," with the bind-rune 'þ/u'. (2) In "Report on the Ruthwell Cross. With some references to that at Bewcastle in Cumberland," *The Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments and Constructions of Scotland. Seventh report with inventory of monuments and constructions in the county of Dumfries*, Edinburgh, 1920, pp. 241–2. Here Maughan's reading is generally accepted, with the readings "-becn thun" and "æft Alcfrithum . . ," while fig. 163, p. 246, shows IV, transcribed "KYNIBURU(Y?)G," and with 'u' with two transverse dotted lines for rune 8. (3) The same illustration of IV is given in *The Arts in Early England*, V, plate XXV, p. 201, and the comment is made (p. 260), "The penultimate rune is a *u* much marked by transverse incisions, but without the vertical stroke of the *y* rune." In II (fig. 18 (1), p. 247), the three examples are drawn as 'þ/u' and the readings 'becn þun," "Olw. wolþu" and "æft Alcfriþum" are given.

Before R. G. Collingwood's 1935 article there is one exception to the general acceptance of Maughan's interpretation. In his article "The Saxon cross at Bewcastle," *Archæologia Æliana*, N.S. 1, 1857, pp. 152 ff., 192, and again in *The Conquest of Britain by the Saxons*, London, 1861, p. 37, and plate II, D. H. Haigh reads runes II, 12, 39, and IV, 8, as 'u' and II, 49, as 'y'. His text has "BECUN," "FLWOLDU" (for *felwoldu*, conjecturally emendated to "BOLDU" in the second version), "YMB" and "CYNIBURUG." These readings, apparently in opposition to Maughan's, were, however, reached at least as early as, and perhaps rather earlier than, Maughan produced his 1857 text. In January 1856 E. Charlton read a paper "On the Bewcastle Cross" at a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne. The paper was not published, but a report in the *Carlisle Journal* for 11 January 1856 indicates that it compared early Haigh and Maughan versions. We know something of the basis of Haigh's reading, though the evidence is that of the hostile witness Maughan, who devoted part of his *Memoir* to the subject.[20] Haigh had made drawings of the Bewcastle Cross as early as 1838, since when it had been extensively cleaned by Maughan. Haigh's 1857 interpretation, however, was to some extent reached on the basis of rubbings provided by Maughan.[21] Maughan claimed (*a*) that the rubbing of the main text was deliberately left unclear at certain points, and (*b*) that Haigh's final reading

[20] *Op. cit.*, pp. 31–8.
[21] Cf. "The Saxon cross at Bewcastle," p. 154.

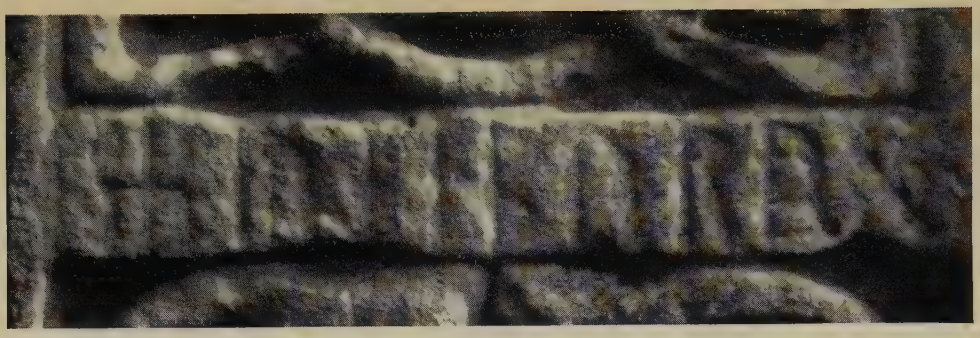
owed little to his subsequent visit "limited to about two hours."[22] A rubbing would be unlikely to reproduce the bows or cross-staves of the rune* forms of II. In the particular case of II, 12, Maughan records[23] that he drew Haigh's attention to the lines across that letter. Haigh's reply was *"they were merely accidental marks, and of no consequence at all."* Haigh's reading of II, 12, 39, 49, then, may well have arisen from a study of the rubbings alone, not altered by the later examination of the original. It should be noted that in Text IV, of which he does not seem to have had a rubbing, he also reads the rune* form as 'u', but here he may have been influenced by the common form *burug*.

In general, Maughan's 1857 reading is closer to the stone as it now stands than Haigh's, which is only preferable if one assumes that the texts have been tampered with in more recent times. The continuous series of later readings agreeing with Maughan's makes this unlikely. There are few cases of later writers following Haigh's readings.[24]

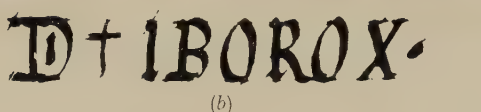
In Maughan's reading of II and the later readings which agree with Maughan runes 12, 39, 49, have generally been read as 'þ/u' in an attempt to solve the problems that otherwise arise at these points. Vietor alone reads II, 12, as 'u', but gives no interpretation of that part of the text. Other scholars —and they knew the Bewcastle Cross from personal examination—had no hesitation in identifying the runes as binds of 'þ' and 'u'. But the treatment of IV shows how unsatisfactory is this identification. IV, 8, is, as has been seen, identical in form with II, 12, 39, 49. Yet the reading 'þ/u' is manifestly impossible in IV, and hence the attempts to identify IV, 8, as 'u' or 'y', and to attribute the transverse marks to accident. Even in II the reading 'þ/u' is unsatisfactory. It necessitates the acceptance of readings 'þ/un', unusual formally and stylistically without parallel in these memorial inscriptions, and either 'alcfriþ/u' with its doubtful or very early ending or the Latin accusative 'alcfriþ/um', again unparalleled elsewhere in Old English memorial texts. Moreover, the form of rune* with its double bow cannot be traced back to a bind of 'þ' and 'u'. 'b/u' is more likely, but even such a form cannot be accepted. For the bows of rune* are fully rounded, while those elsewhere in the Bewcastle texts are made up of nearly straight lines, which curve only slightly inwards and meet nearly at a point. Further, the bows of rune* touch one another at the stem centre: those of the Bewcastle 'b' are separated by a length of stem.

The interpretation of rune* as 'þ/u' clearly causes difficulty. Fortunately, an examination of earlier records throws light on the form. Referring to II, 12, in his *Memoir*, Maughan talks of: "The cross bars . . . having been noticed by me from the first."[25] This is contradicted by his earlier accounts of the

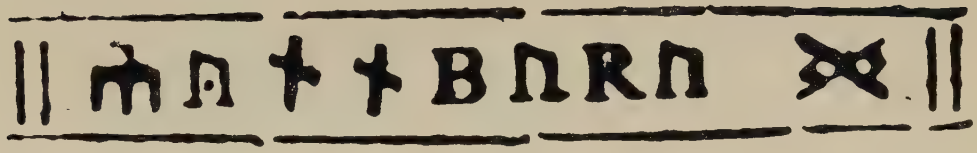
[22] *Op. cit.*, in n. 20, p. 38.
[23] *Ibid.*, p. 34.
[24] See, however, I. Taylor, "Runes," *Chambers's Encyclopædia*, Vol. IX, London, 1892, p. 25, following Haigh's 1861 text.
[25] *Op. cit.*, p. 18.



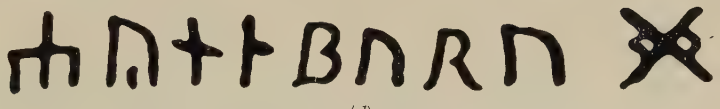
(*a*)



(*b*)



(*c*)



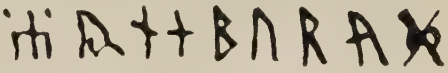
(*d*)

(*e*)

(*f*)

(*g*)

(*h*)



(*i*)

PLATE I

BEWCASTLE INSCRIPTION IV: (*a*) as it is now; and as it appears in the drawings of (*b*) Bainbrigg, (*c*), (*d*) Nicolson, (*e*) Smith, (*f*) Hutchinson, (*g*) Howard, and (*h*), (*i*) Maughan.

Plate II

Bewcastle inscription II.

Bewcastle inscriptions. In "The Maiden Way, section II.—the branch way and Roman station at Bewcastle," *Archaeological Journal*, XI, 1854, pp. 130–4, Maughan describes II, 12, as "undoubtedly U," but this might stem from his desire to identify the name *Dunstano* in lines 1–2 of that text. A wood-cut shows II, 12, as 'u' with a cross-stave cutting the vertical stem at its centre and sloping down from right to left. II, 39, 49, are shown as 'u' forms. IV, 8, is 'u' with a dot at the centre of the vertical stem (plate I, *h*), but it is described enigmatically as "a compound of OU."

A number of Maughan MSS. cast further light on his readings. These are (*a*) MS. 430A, Carlisle Public Library, dated 1852, *The Maiden Way*; (*b*) MS. 427A, Carlisle Public Library, *The Runic Cross at Bewcastle, Cumberland. 1854*; and (*c*) a drawing, dated 1855, in Cumberland Brown Portfolio, Library of the Society of Antiquaries of London, p. 75. Documents (*b*), (*c*) give substantially the same account of the cross, (*a*) differs considerably, but agrees with the others as far as the forms of rune* are concerned. It is convenient, then, to quote from (*b*), the most complete record. II is given twice, on f^os. 22^r, 23^r, and IV on f^o. 33^v (plate I, *i*). II, 12, IV, 8, are shown as 'u' forms with cross-staves, sloping down from right to left, cutting the vertical stems at their centres. II, 39, 49, are 'u' forms. No bows are shown on any of these runes. Of II, 12, Maughan comments: "The next word is the compound word "Dunsetta", or perhaps Daunsetta or Dounsetta, as the second letter U seems to have a bar across it."[26] Of IV he adds, "I may also suggest that the word may be read "Kyneburoug" . . . the penultimate letter being the diphthong OU."[27]

It is clear then that what Maughan first saw in the forms of rune* was neither the single bow which he later identified nor the double bow now visible. It is, of course, possible that the forms of the rune were obscured by dirt or lichen on the surface of the cross and were only clearly seen after Maughan's cleaning. On the other hand, it is possible that the inscriptions on the Bewcastle Cross were altered after his early readings and before his later one. It is important, therefore, to make some critical examination of earlier records of the Bewcastle Cross, and at this point it is convenient to refer only to IV, since that inscription is more easily legible, and should be more accurately recorded, than the others. The following records of Bewcastle IV were made before 1854:

(*a*) Reginald Bainbrigg's drawing in the account already mentioned gives a reading "ᛞ+IBOROX·," clearly an attempt to read the runes as roman characters (plate I, *b*). The rune 'y' is given by D with an I infix, 'n' by a cross, 'u' by O and 'g̃' by X, the point of the right-hand loop being indicated by the following dot. Rune 8 is represented by O, suggesting that its form

[26] MS. 427A, f^o. 27^r.
[27] *Ibid.*, f^o. 36^r.

resembled that of 6. Bows or cross-staves were either absent or omitted by Bainbrigg, who regarded them as accidental blemishes on an O form.

(*b*) Nicholas Roscarrock's letter, dated 7 August 1607, to the antiquary, William Camden (MS. Cotton Julius C V, fº. 77), contains the following account:

"Yf you have any occasion to speake of the Crosse of Buechastell I assure my self the inscription of one syde ys Hubert de Vaux the rather for that the checky coate ys aboue yt on the same syde. & on the other the name of the ermitt that made yt. & I canne in no sorte be brought to thincke yt Eborax as I perceave you have beene advertised."

The side with the "checky coate" is the north side, decorated with a panel of chequers, and the reading "Hubert de Vaux" is a transliteration of IV. Rune 7 ('r') could perhaps be read as A, while 9 ('g̃') could easily be taken for X. 8 must then have been read as U or perhaps V, which are possible if there were no bows across the form. The rejected "Eborax" was also presumably a reading of IV, though Roscarrock's statement is not clear on the point. 8 is then read as A, suggesting a form with one transverse line. It is possible, however, that "Eborax" derives from Bainbrigg's reading.[28]

(*c*) William Nicolson's two accounts, the first in a letter, dated 2 November 1685, to Obadiah Walker, published in the Royal Society's *Philosophical Transactions*, XV, 1685, pp. 1287–91, the second, dated 30 July 1703, in his MS. Visitation of the diocese of Carlisle in the library of the Dean and Chapter of Carlisle, published in *Miscellany Accounts of the Diocese of Carlisle*, (ed. R. S. Ferguson), London, 1877, pp. 56–7. The first of these shows an inscription reading 'kunnburug̃', the runes being described as "fairly legible" (plate I, *c*). The second gives a similar reading, though 4 is less clearly 'n' (plate I, *d*). The second element is certainly 'burug̃' and the inscription is "as fair & legible as it was at first."

(*d*) George Smith's wood-cuts in the June and July issues of *Gentleman's Magazine*, XII, 1742, pp. 318, 369, show an inscription reading 'kyþiburug̃' (plate I, *e*). The letters are described as "fairly legible," and runes 5–8 are identified as "BURU plain."

(*e*) W. Hutchinson's *The History of the County of Cumberland*, Vol. I, London, 1794, has an account of the cross (pp. 80–7). A wood-cut of IV is based on a reproduction produced "by oiling the stone and pressing in wax, and then with printer's ink, taking upon paper the character."[29] This non-selective process should have reproduced accurately the surface forms, but the wood-cut is clearly not always accurate. Distances—that from 'k' to 'n', for example—are not always truly represented, while forms such as 'b'

[28] A. S. Cook, *Some Accounts of the Bewcastle Cross between the years* 1607 *and* 1861, New York, 1914, p. 148.
[29] *Op. cit.*, p. 85.

and 'r' are distorted, possibly because their shapes resemble those of B and R known to the illustrator. The reproduction does, nevertheless, show clearly some aspects of the inscription's condition. It indicates some of the weathering —that round 'k', 'i' and 'ḡ', for example—and shows, too, that the staves of 'y' can no longer be seen to meet at the top. There is no indication of bows or lines across 8: a simple 'u' is shown (plate I, *f*).

(*f*) Henry Howard's original drawings for "Observations on Bridekirk Font and on the runic column at Bewcastle, in Cumberland," *Archaeologia*, XIV, 1803, pp. 113–18, plate XXXIV, are preserved in Cumberland Red Portfolio, Library of the Society of Antiquaries of London, pp. 3, 5. Howard gives the following account of his method:

"In taking the inscription I followed the same plan as at Bridekirk, working the paper in with the finger, and afterwards following the finger at the edges of every part of the letters with the pencil, so that, in the paper I send, you have all that can be either seen or felt of this inscription."[30]

This suggests some selection. Howard's "following the finger at the edges of every part of the letters" might imply that he thought he knew what shape characters he ought to find. The unevennesses of the stone are certainly not mechanically reproduced, for there are few signs of weathering in the drawing of IV, though some is shown to the right of 'i' and also around 'ḡ'. On the other hand, Howard has not added to what he saw and felt, for his reproductions of both II and IV show no reconstruction of forms only partly visible, as in the case of 'ḡ' (IV, 9) with its missing left-hand loop. Presumably Howard selected by sight and feel depressions which seemed to him to be deliberate incisions, and reproduced them, indicating only a minimum of other (weathering or accidental) depressions. Had the bows or lines across IV, 8, been clearly marked as they now are, Howard would surely have included them in his drawing. In fact, he shows a simple 'u' with a suggestion of weathering to the right of the stem and below its centre. This represents weathering still visible at or slightly below the present centre-point of the two bows (plate I, *g*).

(*g*) The original drawings for D. and S. Lysons *Magna Britannia; being a concise topographical account of the several counties of Great Britain*, Vol. IV, *Cumberland*, London, 1816, pp. cxcix–cci and plate XXIII, are preserved in the British Museum (Additional MS. 9462, f^{os}. 109, 113). IV is described by Lysons as "a pretty perfect inscription in Runic characters"[31] and all drawings show the penultimate rune as 'u'. There is, however, some doubt about the extent to which the Lysons drawings are independent of Howard.[32]

[30] *Op. cit.*, p. 118.
[31] *Op. cit.*, p. cc.
[32] See below, pp. 51–2.

The evidence can be summed up thus:

(1) There are six independent records of Bewcastle IV before Maughan's first text, those of Bainbrigg, Roscarrock, Nicolson, Smith, Hutchinson and Howard, and there are also the Lysons drawings. None shows any bow or group of transverse lines in rune 8. Five give the form 'u', while the other two interpret it as a roman character. Howard shows slight weathering to the right of the vertical stem, which may explain the A of Roscarrock's quoted *Eborax* as well as Maughan's 1852–5 forms.

(2) There is a difference between the form of IV, 8, shown on Maughan's early drawings and that of the 1857 *Memoir*.

(3) After 1857 all records indicate one or more bows or transverse lines across IV, 8. Haigh's texts, apparent exceptions to this, are based on rubbings and an examination carried out before 1857.

It is hard to doubt that the bows or cross lines of IV, 8, were either cut or opened out between, say, 1852 and 1857. If this is so, the validity not only of Bewcastle IV but of all the Bewcastle texts is called in question. IV, 8, could have been altered in two ways:

(*a*) By a mischievous tampering with the inscription. It is obviously unsatisfactory to explain an unusual form as a faked or altered one, but in the case of the Bewcastle Cross other evidence gives support to the suggestion. On several occasions Maughan was taken in by practical jokers living in the neighbourhood of Bewcastle, who faked antiquities and brought them to his notice. Two of these fakes were runic inscriptions, though the runes used in them were Scandinavian. These were the Barnspike inscription "found" in 1864 and the text "found" at Hessilgil Crag in 1872.[33] Both were reported to learned societies by Maughan. They were recognized as forgeries independently by Calverley–Collingwood[34] and R. S. Ferguson,[35] the latter claiming that it was common knowledge in the Bewcastle district that the inscriptions had been faked. In a letter dated 11 December 1865 E. Charlton reported that the Barnspike runes had been "freshly cut as on a tombstone of yesterday. The stone had been covered with black paint, and then each letter of the inscription had been cut out afresh with a sharp tool."[36] Charlton, however, may have been a biased witness, for he backed Haigh against Maughan in the Bewcastle controversy. Maughan's reply, dated 3 February 1869, denied that re-cutting of the inscription had taken place: "Mr. Little, the neighbouring farmer, who let me see the inscription, told me at the time that he and Watson

[33] J. Maughan, "The runic rock at Barnspike, Cumberland, England," *Mem. Soc. Royale des Antiquaires du Nord*, V, 1866–71, pp. 11–22, and "A runic inscription on Hessilgil Crag: Murchie's Cairn," *Trans. Cumb. Westm. Ant. Archæol. Soc.*, I, 1883, pp. 318–21.

[34] *Notes on the Early Sculptured Crosses*, pp. 48–53.

[35] *Proc. Soc. Ant. London*, 2nd Series, XVIII, 1899–1901, pp. 88–91. A note in Ferguson's copy of Maughan's "The runic rock" (Carlisle Public Library) reads, "Both the Barnspike and Hessilgill Runic Inscriptions are modern forgeries by a schoolmaster there."

[36] *The Old-Northern Runic Monuments*, II, Copenhagen, 1868, p. 654.

had on different occasions scratched the letters to get the moss out of them, trying to find some letters which they could read. This I believe is all the fresh cutting which the letters have received."[37] Later Charlton commented: "it requires a keen eye to be certain that it is not a modern forgery."[38] It is possible that what Charlton took for a re-cut inscription, and Maughan an old one newly cleaned of moss, was in fact a newly-cut fake. If this were so, a similar imposition could have been made upon Maughan when the various Bewcastle texts were cleaned.

(*b*) By a scholar cleaning the inscription of lichen and opening out faint and perhaps accidental marks on the stone. We know that during Maughan's rectorship a good deal of cleaning of the Bewcastle Cross took place.[39] Although Maughan professed great respect for the cross, venerating it "as much as if it had been made from my own bones," he allowed the surface to suffer considerable attack. He himself, and such a visitor as Haigh, working under his surveillance, did not hesitate to scrape away at the stone with knives,[40] and this may account for scratches down the centre-lines of stems in Bewcastle II. Clearly, the marks across IV, 8, could have been made more distinct in this way, but in view of the appearance of identical forms in II it is unlikely that they would have been produced—cut for the first time—in this way. The mystery of the meaning of rune* then remains.

The result of the discussion so far has been to cast doubt on the validity of Bewcastle IV as it now stands. In turn this casts doubt on the validity of the other Bewcastle texts, in particular those texts easily accessible. Included among these is the main text, Bewcastle II, and this, too, must be compared with pre-1854 records. Unfortunately, these are few[41]:

(*a*) The wood-cut, presumably by Smith, in the March issue of *Gentleman's Magazine*, XII, 1742, p. 132.

(*b*) Howard's drawing for his article in *Archaeologia*, XIV (Cumberland Red Portfolio, Library of the Society of Antiquaries of London, p. 5). With this must be considered Lysons' drawing (B.M. Additional MS. 9462, f°. 109), which is probably derived from the published version of Howard's drawing. Lysons knew of Howard's work,[42] and his text closely resembles Howard's, lines 2–5 being virtually identical, and 6, 9, very similar. Two readings confirm Lysons' debt to Howard: (i) the dot shown at the centre of the stem

[37] *The Old-Northern Runic Monuments*, III, Copenhagen, 1884, p. 285.
[38] "Runic inscription on Baronspike," *Archæologia Æliana*, N.S. VII, 1876, p. 83.
[39] *Memoir*, pp. 17–18, 36.
[40] *Memoir*, pp. 12, 36–8.
[41] The drawing sent by Nicolson to Thoresby (J. A. W. Bennett, "The beginnings of runic studies in England," *Saga Book Viking Soc.*, XIII, 1946–53, p. 277) seems to have been lost.
[Since the present article went to press Nicolson's drawing of Bewcastle II has been traced in the library of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society. The drawing, a fuller study of which will appear at a later date, goes to confirm the conclusions of the present article.]
[42] *Magna Britannia*, IV, p. cc.

of II, 22, which derives from a blot of wash accidentally fallen on to Howard's original drawing and incorporated into his published text, and (ii) the part of the side framing line at the beginning of line 4 drawn by Howard and taken over by Lysons at this point.

(*c*) Maughan's 1852 text in Carlisle Public Library MS. 430A. It is not surprising, in view of the fact that even in the seventeenth century Bewcastle II was in a very worn condition, that these versions differ considerably from one another. However, the following letters agree, more or less, in all three pre-1854 texts: 'wætr' (20–3), 'gær' (29–31), 'ri' (47–8), 'u' (54), while 'g' (7) is suggested in all. Further, (*b*) and (*c*) agree in reading 'is' (13–14). In all these cases the text of the cross as it now stands agrees with the early records. There are four discrepancies: 'li' (*bc*) for 'e' (24), H (*ac*) and 'æ' (*bc*) in uncertain contexts towards the end of line 6, and, most important, 'æ' (*bc*) where the text now reads 'o/n' (18). Obviously there is here no proof of tampering with the inscription, but the examples considered above comprise less than a quarter of the text. Equally important is the fact that none of the early records, not even that of the careful Howard, gives certain letter parts that are now comparatively clear on the stone: so, the arms or bows of 'c' (10), 'þ' (28), 'w' (34), 'l' or 'æ' (38) and 't' (42), and most of 'gebid' (66–70).

These facts, with what we know of the cross's history in the 1850s, suggest that that time may have seen some "improvement" of the inscriptions. Investigators, clearing the stone surface, may have traced with knives or other implements forms they expected to find. Doubtful forms may thus have become clearer, and some forms even altered or produced. So, line 2, which now has 'setto/n', may earlier have had 'settæ', the singular verb agreeing with the first element of the compound subject and retaining PrOE unstressed *-æ*, (cf. the verbal forms 'setæ' on the Great Urswick rune-stone, *GI*SETAE on the Yarm cross, and the retention of the early unstressed vowel in the 'ricæs dryhtnæs' of the lost Bewcastle head).

If, in fact, the Bewcastle inscriptions as they now stand are in part the product of such investigators, we would expect to find in them unusual runic or linguistic forms resulting from nineteenth-century misconceptions. We do find unusual runic and linguistic forms, but they cannot always be traced back to nineteenth-century readings. So, unusual forms of runes in Bewcastle II are:

(i) The 'i' (6), a half-length letter, its top in line with other tops, its base in line with stem centres. Brown identified a second 'i' of this type (69),[43] but it cannot now be found on the stone. All other 'i' forms on Bewcastle (I, 10, II, 3, 48, IV, 4) are of full size. The half-length 'i' is not certainly evidenced elsewhere, though there are three possible cases of it. The third Thornhill rune-stone has the name 'jilsuiþ', its second 'i' a half-length letter

[43] *The Arts in Early England*, V, pp. 247–8.

with its top in line with other stem tops, but the arrangement of the runes here suggests that the 'i' was first wrongly omitted and then added later, of a size to fit the available space. The second Thornhill rune-stone has the text '+êadred|seteæfte|êate3nne' and below the left-hand stem of the 's' a short vertical incision which may be an 'i' converting the verb to 'isete' (= *gisette*) or which equally well may have been cut in error. Thirdly, there is the ambiguous example from Kirk Maughold.[44] There is no certain confirmation here of the existence of a half-length Old English 'i' rune. The Bewcastle example must then be considered unusual, perhaps erroneous.

(ii) The H-like forms (61, 72). 72, not given as this form in the early records, is read by Vietor as "(D od. H?)," by R. G. Collingwood as a damaged 'h' and by Willett as "[h]." Vietor, Brown, Collingwood and Willett read 61 as 's', and, indeed, this identification is necessary if the patronymic *Oswiung* is to be found in the text. An 's' with both stems produced to full height in this way is not recorded elsewhere. All Bewcastle forms (I, 4, 5, 7, 11, 15, II, 4, 5, 14, 74, III, 2, 3) have the normal 's' form, save perhaps in 'u/s' (III, 4), where the apparent lengthening of the 's' stems is probably due to weathering.

Unusual linguistic forms are:

(iii) The name 'a[◦]w[◦]wo[◦]*', *Alwfwolƿu* (Maughan), *Olwfwolƿu* (Stephens), *Olw*[◦]*wolƿu* (Brown), *Olwowol*/Alwowol** (Collingwood), *Olwowolƿu* (Willett) bears little resemblance to known OE name forms.

(iv) The preposition *æft* is not found elsewhere in OE. Other runic texts have forms of the prepositions *æfter* (the Falstone "hog-back," the Great Urswick stone, the first Thornhill stone), *æfte* (the second and perhaps the third Thornhill stones). A short form *aft, æft* is found on Scandinavian stones, but its origin is disputed.[45] If it derives from a short form in Germanic, the Bewcastle example could be cognate. If the short form is a development within Old Norse from an earlier *after*, a parallel development in OE could produce the Bewcastle form. Bewcastle *æft* is, then, not inexplicable, but it remains unique.

The arguments presented above do not, of course, prove that Bewcastle II and IV have been altered. With the available evidence that would be difficult, probably impossible, to prove. But alteration of the texts may certainly have taken place.

To return, then, to the question of the dating of the Bewcastle Cross; those who would point to the names of Alchfrid and Cyniburg are faced with the following problems:

(*a*) That Bewcastle II and IV, in which these names are found, are of uncertain validity.

[44] See above, p. 43, n. 14.

[45] L. Jacobsen, E. Moltke and others, *Danmarks Runeindskrifter: text*, Copenhagen, 1942, cols. 741–2.

(*b*) That rune* cannot be derived formally from 'þ' (or even 'd' or 'th') essential for reading the name of Alchfrid.

(*c*) That if rune* is read as a bind of 'þ' and some other letter there are problematic readings in all four contexts, and particularly in Bewcastle IV.

Further, it must be noted that:

(*d*) The reading of the patronymic *Oswiung*, found on Bewcastle II from the time of Maughan's 1857 text, depends on the identification of a doubtful 's' form.

(*e*) The title given to Alchfrid on line 6 of Bewcastle II—*ean kyniŋ* (Maughan, Stephens), *an kyniŋ* (Brown), *an kuniŋ* (Collingwood, Willett) presents difficulties. The use in this context of *an* (? indefinite article, ? case ending) is, to say the least, unusual, while the facts that rune 53 is '$\bar{g}$', not '$\bar{k}$' (which the Bewcastle Cross does not use) and 54 shows no sign of the inset 'i' which would turn 'u' into 'y' (for a form *kyning*) makes the form of the title a strange one indeed.

So far this discussion of the Bewcastle inscriptions has been destructive, an attack on the "accepted" connexion between the cross and Alchfrid. It is hard to adopt a more positive attitude to the Bewcastle texts as they now stand. Texts I and III are probably valid even though there are no early drawings confirming them, for they are not readily accessible and are the less likely to have been tampered with. Unfortunately, being in Latin they are of little linguistic importance. Nothing can be made of the fragment VI, which is of little interest. Text IV, as has been seen, should read 'kyniburu$\bar{g}$'. Text II remains a problem. Rejecting the text as it now stands, we are left with only the three early attempts at reproducing the worn and weathered inscription. Two of these, those of Smith and Maughan, are small drawings in which relative distances between staves are unlikely to be accurate. The Smith drawing, moreover, shows a very strange set of characters, while the Maughan text is incomplete and contains a large number of forms consisting of vertical stems alone. The Howard reproduction is a full-size tracing. Nearly all the staves it records are still visible on the stone, but there are many staves now to be seen which Howard does not show. Occasional runes can be identified with certainty on the Howard tracing, while in other cases readings can be tentatively reconstructed from the shapes given there. However, no fragment of text of any length can be recovered even from Howard's drawing. If, then, the reading of the stone is rejected, as owing much to re-touching and examination in modern times, the main Bewcastle inscription must be considered irrecoverable.

Finally must be examined the inscription of the lost head of the Bewcastle Cross. Part of the text of this fragment has survived in four versions. These are:

(*a*) MS. Smith I, set after p. 644 of Camden's own copy of his *Britannia* in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. This gives a text 'ricæsdr*htnæs', rune*

being ᚫ. Above the runes are written the values rinæs, then m with a dot above it and above that d, then r, a space above rune* and ·h·tnæs. Beneath the text is written:

"I receaued this morning a ston from my lord of Arundell sent him from my lord William it was the head of a Cross at Bewcastell All the letters legable ar thes in on Line And I hau sett to them such as I can gather out of my Alphabetts that lyk an ·A· I can find in non But wether thes be only lettres or words I somwhatt dout. . . ."

The note is not signed or addressed, but it is believed to be from Sir Robert Cotton to Camden.[46]

(*b*) A letter, dated 1629, from Sir Henry Spelman to Palæmon Rosencrantz. The original is not known to survive, but its text is given in Olaus Worm, *Danicorum monumentorum libri sex . . .*, Hafniæ, 1643, pp. 159–62, reprinted as letter CCCCXXV in *Olai Wormii et ad eum doctorum virorum epistolæ . . .*, Havniæ, 1751. A text presumably one stage nearer the original survives in MS. Gl. kgl. sml. 2370 4°, Royal Library, Copenhagen. This seems to be part of Worm's draft copy of his book, mainly in manuscript, most of which is in Worm's own hand, and with some printed pages interleaved and heavily annotated. The manuscript has no page numbering. Its text of the Spelman letter begins in a hand other than Worm's. Worm then wrote the descriptive passage immediately after the drawing of the Bewcastle inscription and added a number of unsuccessful attempts at interpretation, so it is likely that he made the drawing or at least checked its accuracy. The manuscript gives a text 'ricæsdr*htnæs', rune* having the same form as in MS. Smith I. Below is the comment:

"Sculpta fuit hæc inscriptio epistÿlio crucis lapideæ, Bevcastri partib*us* Angliæ borealib*us* (ubi Dani plurimum versabantur) Cambdenoq̄ et mihi simul exhibita An. Dn. 1618, ab Antiqvitatum inter proceres Angliæ peritiss*imo* Dn. Gvilielmo Howard novissimi Ducis Norfolciæ filio."

Worm's published text of the letter differs from this only in inessentials, but its drawing of the inscription shows rune* in the corrupt form ᚩ, while the final 's' is followed by a point set above the line.

(*c*) MS. Cotton Domitian A XVIII, f°. 37ʳ gives a text 'ricæsdruhtnæs.', with the note:

"This Inscription was on the head of a crose found
at Beucastell in 1615.
The length of the stone. bein the head of the Crosse – 16 inches
The breadth at the vpper end – 12.ynches
The Thicknes – 4.inches"

[46] J. Wilson, "The runes on the lost head of Bewcastle Cross," *Trans. Cumb. Westm. Ant. Archæol. Soc.*, N.S. X, 1910, p. 504; and Brown, *The Arts in Early England*, V, p. 114.

(*d*) MS. Cotton Julius F VI, f°. 313 has 'ricæsdruhtnæs' and adds:

"The length of the stone –
beinge the head of a Crosse } 16.ynches
The b[. . .]dth at the vpper end – 12.ynches
The [. . . . .]nes ————————4 ynches."

with the address "Bucastle inscription For Mr Clarenceaulx."

(*c*) and (*d*) have also been attributed to Cotton.[47] The hand of (*c*) certainly bears some resemblance to that of (*a*), so the two notes may be by the same writer. Manuscript (*d*) seems to be in a quite different hand, and Haverfield does not identify it.[48]

The history of the Bewcastle Cross head, as given in these accounts, is then as follows. The stone was "found" in 1615. Lord William Howard of Naworth, a noted collector of Northern antiquities, had it in 1618, when he showed it to Spelman and Camden. Howard gave the stone to Arundel, from whom it passed, if the identification of the writer of (*a*) is correct, to Cotton. Camden saw the stone itself, and was twice informed of its text, once (as Mr. Clarenceaulx) in (*d*), once, if the identification of the recipient of (*a*) is correct, by (*a*). There is no further record of the cross head.

The lost Bewcastle cross head undoubtedly held the text 'ricæsdryhtnæs', while Cotton's comment suggests that there were further, illegible, characters. The rune 'y' was probably blurred by weathering, with the result that it was read variously as 'u' and as Cotton and Spelman's rune*, from which derived Worm's printed form. The rest must have been surprisingly distinct, and this suggests that the inscription, like Bewcastle IV, was on the north face of the cross, and sheltered to some degree by the church building. (*a*) and (*d*) have no point at the end of the text. Manuscript (*c*) gives a point placed on the line, but this may have been added by the transcriber to indicate the text end. Worm's printed text of (*b*) shows a point set above the line, but the manuscript text shows none. It should be noted that no punctuation symbols of this sort have been found in the other Bewcastle inscriptions.

A fragmentary text *ricæs dryhtnæs* is ambiguous. *ricæs* can be the genitive singular of either the noun or the adjective *rice*, while *dryhtnæs* can refer to an earthly or a heavenly lord. Without the context the meaning cannot be determined.

In this essay I have indicated that there is good reason for rejecting the "accepted" connexion between the Bewcastle Cross and the sub-king Alchfrid. The Cyniburg of Bewcastle IV can then no longer be identified, for the name is common enough in OE for any identification to be doubtful. The only evidence for dating the cross on the basis of its inscriptions then becomes the

[47] J. A. W. Bennett, "The beginnings of runic studies in England," p. 270.
[48] "Cotton Iulius F. VI." p. 376.

evidence of the linguistic forms found in them. The inscription of the lost head and the Bewcastle IV text 'kyniburuḡ' (together with the Latin inscriptions of Bewcastle I, III) are the only texts of the cross whose validity can be accepted, and so any dating of the cross on the linguistic evidence of its inscriptions must be based on these. Unfortunately, they are too slight for their evidence to be of any great use. The texts are later than *i*-mutation as the forms 'dryhtnæs', 'kyniburuḡ' prove, and later than the OE syncope of vowels in middle syllables, as shown by the form 'dryhtnæs'. The condition of the unstressed vowels—PrOE *æ* retained in 'dryhtnæs', 'ricæs', and PrOE *i* in 'kyniburuḡ'—suggests quite an early date, though from only three examples all that can safely be deduced is that the Bewcastle inscriptions are not as late as the tenth century. Bewcastle compares with the Great Urswick and the third Thornhill rune-stones in its use of the rune 'k', and with the Ruthwell Cross in its use of 'k' and 'ḡ'. The most likely date—on linguistic grounds alone—for Great Urswick and Ruthwell is 750–850, while the third Thornhill stone seems to be rather later. The language of the Bewcastle inscriptions, as far as it survives, is at a similar stage to that of Great Urswick and Ruthwell, and a date 750–850 is therefore a possible one for the Bewcastle Cross. We do, however, know so little about the language of western Northumbria in OE times that such a dating must be tentative in the extreme. It follows that the Bewcastle Cross loses some of its importance for the art historian, for it can no longer be regarded as a fixed dating point on which a system of chronology for Anglo-Saxon sculptured stones can be based.

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I should like to acknowledge permission to publish reproductions of manuscript material in the following collections: Department of Manuscripts, British Museum (plate I, *b*), Library of the Dean and Chapter of Carlisle (plate I, *d*), Carlisle Public Library (plate I, *i*). I should like to thank successive rectors of Bewcastle for help during the examination of the Bewcastle Cross, and Mr. T. F. Roylance of the Department of Mechanical Engineering, University of Nottingham, for photographic assistance.

RODRIGO SÁNCHEZ DE ARÉVALO (1404-1470) AND HIS *COMPENDIOSA HISTORIA HISPANICA*

In the mediaeval historiography of the Spanish Peninsula no century can challenge the fifteenth for variety of form and diversity of approach. It is true that this century did not produce any single historian of outstanding brilliance or originality. With the possible exception of Fernão Lopes, none reach the level of Ximénez de Rada, the Alfonsine corpus or Muntaner, but never before had the writing of history in both Latin and the vernacular attracted so much attention amongst nobles, clergy and the secretarial class. To try to account for this passionate interest by reference to the social, political and literary background would demand a much more intimate knowledge of the period than is at present available. Many of the individual works present, as one might expect, such a complex fusion of old and new trends that any attempt at classification often does an injustice to the intentions of their authors. One is, however, struck by the disproportionate amount of unofficial historiography, that is, history written from outside the royal chancellery, which offers varying and often contradictory views of past and contemporary events. This is a testimony to the violently unstable social and political scene, reflected in official as well as independent historians. Witness, for example, the way Fernão Lopes builds on and at the same time modifies the lines of López de Ayala's chronicles, or the multiple judgements of the career of Alvaro de Luna, favourite of Juan II of Castile. Contrast the interpretations of the reign of his son, Enrique IV, by Enríquez de Castillo and Alfonso de Palencia. Even official histories, like that of Juan II or Enrique IV are subsequently reshaped to reflect more clearly the sympathies of later generations.

Surveying the historical production of this century in the most general terms, one could make the following observations. The two main historiographical genres inherited by the fifteenth century are the general histories of Spain, based upon a thirteenth-century Latin chronicle, the *Historia Gothica*, by Ximénez de Rada, Archbishop of Toledo, and its vernacular successors, of which the Alfonsine *Cronica de Espanna* or the Portuguese *Cronica de* 1344 are the most important. On the other hand, there are the anonymous *crónicas particulares* of individual reigns which one may suppose to have emerged from the royal chancellery. This tradition of anonymity is first breached and never fully re-established on the advent of the Trastamaras to the Castilian throne near the end of the fourteenth century, when the chancellor of the kingdom takes it upon himself to write the history of Pedro I from a point of view favourable to the new line. Conversely, in the crown of Aragon, where successive monarchs had taken a much more personal interest in recording

their own deeds, royal historiography breaks down over the end of the fourteenth century and is not resumed until the end of the fifteenth.

Compared with that of Portugal and Aragon, the historiography of fifteenth-century Castile is remarkably diversified, both within and without the court. It could even be said that this literary activity is a key to the political vitality of the Castilian of those times. When one looks to Aragon and Catalonia for near contemporary accounts of the '50s or '60s and of the dramatic upheavals of the Civil War, it is remarkable how little attention the historian paid to events in his own lifetime, whereas in Castile we have firstly the flowering of the biographical genre from Pérez de Guzmán to Pulgar, secondly the proliferation of contemporary chronicles written in Latin or romance defending or criticizing royal policy, and thirdly, the resuscitation of the general chronicle by eminent clergy, politicians and bureaucrats who recapitulated and re-wrote the full extent of known history down to contemporary times, as in the vernacular of Diego de Valera or the Latin of Alfonso de Cartagena and Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo. It is this last genre with which the present article will be concerned.

What is most interesting about these general chronicles is the explicit desire on the part of their authors to subject past history to theories about the Castilian monarchy, its characteristics, its predecessors, its past and present mission and its future purpose. As a result they provide a valuable insight into the convictions and aspirations of certain influential circles in Castile. This is especially true of the histories dedicated to either Fernando or Isabel, which deplore the partisan dissensions of the previous reigns and depict their accession as a climax in an historical process whose antecedents can be clearly traced. But before the Aragonese party in Castile had recognized in Juan II of Aragon and his son Fernando figures significant for the future of their own country, two bishops, writing in Latin, had attempted to remould and bring up to date the accepted views of Castile's past and present as diffused by Ximénez de Rada and his imitators. Their histories, dedicated to two of the most vacillating monarchs of the period, and directed at the foreigner as well as the Castilian, are an uncompromising statement of Castile's rights to political supremacy within the Peninsula and of her claim to a prominent place in the European comity of nations. In a previous article on the *Anacephaleosis* of Alfonso de Cartagena, I have tried to show how it was shaped and what it stood for.[1] In this essay I should like to discuss the characteristics of a much more extensive and complex work, the *Compendiosa Historia Hispanica* of Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo, in order to determine what it owes to the former and what new elements it contains.

[1] "The *Anacephaleosis* of Alfonso García de Santa María," *Hispanic Studies in Honour of I. González Llubera*, (1959), pp. 386–401. Alfonso was the son of the chief Rabbi of Burgos. Both of them, after the conversion of the father to Christianity, became in succession Bishops of Burgos.

I

The reason why Sánchez de Arévalo has never figured prominently in the cultural history of Castile is that, like his contemporaries and fellow clerics, Carvajal, Torquemada and Juan de Mella, he spent the most active years of his life in Italy in the service of the Vatican, and his numerous treatises are concerned with the specific problems of the Conciliar age or the general moral tenets of the Christian faith.[2] His normal literary language was Latin: he rarely wrote in the vernacular, much less than Cartagena, and his two short works in Castilian were written in the 1450s, before he had taken up permanent residence in Rome. Yet while the Castilian origin of the cardinals I have mentioned is not made evident in any of their writings, Arévalo remained a nostalgic expatriate, prevented from attending to diocesan business by more pressing affairs in Rome. His historical vision of Castile owes a great deal to an absence which, as he assured his Franciscan friend Alonso de Palenzuela, was compulsory. Had he written the *Compendiosa Historia Hispanica* from the episcopal palaces of Oviedo, Palencia or Calahorra, it would, I think, have lacked a great deal of its characteristic hyperbole. But the cultural life of Rome also contributed positively to the formulation and the dissemination of the history. He is the first among Peninsular historians to take advantage of the newly translated texts of the Greek geographers, and he is the first Castilian to have more than one work printed in his lifetime.

It was his compatriot Juan de Torquemada who, while abbot *in commendam* of the Benedictine monastery at Subiaco, invited the German monks, Sweynheim and Pannartz to set up a printing-press there *c.* 1465. Two years later they moved to Rome, and in the midst of an impressive array of classical works issuing from their press, there figures the *Speculum Vitae Humanae* of Arévalo. The view is that Torquemada then lost interest in the firm, which soon went bankrupt, dependent as it was on the patronage of the Curia; and when he decided to have a work of his own printed, the *Meditationes*, he transferred his attentions to the rival German press of Ulrich Hahn.[3] Arévalo seems to have followed in his footsteps, for it was this same printer who eventually published, probably in 1470, the *Compendiosa Historia Hispanica*, which thus enjoys the double distinction of being the first substantial history of Spain since the *Historia Gothica* of Ximénez de Rada and the first history of Spain of any type to be printed, some twenty years before the appearance of the incunabulum *De Laudibus Hispaniae Libri VII* by Lucius Marineus Siculus. It was not re-issued again until Sancho Nebrija produced a collection of Latin histories of Spain in 1545, where it took its place beside the works of Ximénez de Rada, Alfonso de Cartagena and Joan Margarit.

[2] Information on his life is drawn from T. Toni, "Don Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo," *Anuario de historia del derecho español*, xii (1935), pp. 97–360; R. H. Trame, *R. Sánchez de Arévalo, Spanish Diplomat and Champion of the Papacy* (Washington, 1958). The latter contains a complete bibliography.

[3] V. S. Scholderer, *Printers and Readers in Italy in the Fifteenth Century* (London, 1949), p. 3.

There is no explicit evidence as to how or when the project of writing a a history of Spain matured. Arévalo was an extremely fast and prolific writer and could throw off a well documented pamphlet in the heat of controversy.[4] But, as I hope to show, his history absorbed the ideas of a man with whom he was associated from his early maturity, Cartagena, the *converso* Bishop of Burgos. When he was not abroad his habitual residence was in that town, and on occasions he acted as Vicar General for the Bishop. Both Toni and Serrano imply that there was great intimacy between the two,[5] and although this is a very justifiable assumption, it is nevertheless curious that only once or twice does Arévalo mention his name in his writings. He made an early entry into court circles, either through the influence of Cartagena, or because, as he claims, his education was paid for by the mother of Juan II of Castile.[6] It is, however, more than possible that his presence among the delegates of Castile to the Council of Basle between 1433 and 1438 can be attributed to the Bishop of Burgos. Although Arévalo's first recorded acts in the Council show an inclination towards the conciliar faction, the pressure of international and ecclesiastical politics which drove the Council to threaten papal primacy forced the Castilian legation to relinquish their benevolent neutralism for outright opposition, and in 1439 the envoys withdrew from the assembly. Arévalo, in reward for his services there was given a canonry in the cathedral chapter of Burgos (December 1439) and embarked on a diplomatic career which began by a series of missions aimed at separating Frederick III, Charles VII, Alfonso V and Filippo Maria Visconti from the Council of Basle and the anti-Pope, which policy came to maturity a year or so later with the volte-face of Alfonso and Filippo Maria after the former's successes in the kingdom of Naples. There is still some disagreement over the dates and sequence of his various visits to European courts; Trame, his latest biographer, is inclined to believe that he began by visiting Frederick in Vienna, then France, Florence, possibly Naples and then Milan. During these arduous journeys Arévalo wrote and talked incessantly, making the acquaintance of many prominent figures of the period, like Nicholas of Cusa and Aeneas Sylvius. After a short term of administrative and political activity in Burgos, mostly in the

[4] After this art. was written, I have had the opportunity of studying what may well be a first draft of the *Compendiosa*, a *Libellus de situ et descriptione Hispanie*, written in 1463. See Trame, p. 115, and A. García García, "Un Opúsculo inédito de Ruy Sánchez de Arévalo . . ." *Salmanticensis*, iv (1957), p. 477. I shall consider the relation of this short treatise and the *Compendiosa* in a separate article, as well as the evidence which emerges on the way the *Compendiosa* was composed.

[5] See L. Serrano, *Los conversos Don Pablo de Santa María y don Alfonso de Cartagena* (Madrid, 1942). Pelzer in *Codices Vaticani Latini*, vol. II, lists a fifteenth-century codex, MS. 1018 as being brought by Arévalo from Burgos to Rome. It contains two orations by Demosthenes and the pseudo-Aeschines translated by Leonardo Bruni into Latin. Now when Alfonso de Cartagena was in Portugal in 1422, he was shown translations by Bruni of the same two authors by Portuguese law students returned from Bologna. As translations by Bruni from the Greek were, as far as we know, rare in Spain prior to the 1450s, it seems more than likely that Arévalo's early introduction to the works of the Florentine humanist was through Cartagena. See Birkenmaier, *art. cit.* in n. 12, pp. 138–9.

[6] *Compendiosa Historia Hispanica* in A. Schott, *Hispaniae Illustratae*, I, p. 233.

company of Cartagena, he left in 1448 for Rome, possibly, as Toni suggests, to put forward Juan II's plans for a campaign against Granada. There he appears as *cubicularius* of Nicholas V, on whose behalf he visited Philip of Burgundy, returning to Rome and then to Burgos again in 1450. In 1454 he was again in France, this time at the court of Charles VII over a border dispute, and during his stay he was informed of the death of his sovereign, Juan II of Castile.

By the beginning of the reign of his successor, Enrique IV, Arévalo had already collected a substantial library[7] and had written several short treastises on widely varying topics. The majority of these deal with Conciliar issues, *De Remediis Schismatis, Contra tres Propositiones Concilii Basiliensis*, anticipating the doctrines of Torquemada on the monarchical constitution of the Church, the exclusive right of the Pope to convene a council when he thought fit, and the heresy of remaining neutral *vis-à-vis* the existing schism. His remedies for ending the schism are repressive and vehement, namely, the imprisonment and forfeiture of goods of heretical opponents. He had made his mind up early and never changed it, as one can see from his last writings. The *Vergel de los príncipes*, his first vernacular opus in the *De regemine principum* tradition, dedicated to Enrique IV, demands attention because it includes themes and attitudes more fully developed in his history of Spain. He expresses strong disapproval of feuds between the nobles, their lax and unmilitary behaviour, and the recent truce with the Moors. The proper occupation of the monarch is to "mudar la paz deshonesta en justa discordia e guerra loable," and to promote the conquest of the North African provinces, the lawful inheritance of a descendant of the Visigothic monarchy.[8] The first theme, so characteristic of his temperament, is expanded in the later dialogue *De Pace et Bello* which affirms the divine approval of war and the virtues which it engenders, as against the vitiating quality of peace as we know it on earth. The belligerency of this treatise is accompanied by a sombre assessment of human nature, and is provoked by circumstances similar to those mentioned in the dedication of the former, namely the signing of a general peace in Italy under the auspices of Paul II.[9] For Arévalo there is no respite against the insidious work of the devil and the threat of heresy. The consequences of peace, sophisticated and leisurely living, contain the seeds of man's self-destruction.

From the late 1450s to his death in 1470, Arévalo lived almost constantly in Rome, becoming in succession Bishop of Oviedo, Zamora, Calahorra and Palencia, none of which dioceses he ever saw. The position which retained him in Italy was that of *referendarius* to Paul II (a sort of private secretary)

[7] See the introd. to his educational treatise, *De arte, disciplina . . . erudiendi filios* (*c.* 1453), ed. Keniston, *Bulletin Hispanique*, xxii (1930), p. 203.

[8] *Vergel de los príncipes* (1456–7), ed. Fr. de Uhagón (Madrid, 1900), p. 7.

[9] *De Pace et Bello* (1468), ed. T. A. Vairani in *Cremonensium monumenta Romae extantia* (Rome, 1778), I.

and castellan of the papal fortress of Sant' Angelo. During this period of relative leisure he made the most of his friendships and did most of his writing, which again reflects the major events of these years. The two crucial situations that emerged during the '50s and the '60s were the increased Turkish threat after 1453 and the religious struggle in Bohemia. This stimulated imperial and papal demands for a general peace in Western Europe and particularly in Italy, but such pleas were usually weakened by those powers like France, who used the threat of adherence to the Council in order to gain concessions. Arévalo laid down his main arguments against the supporters of the Conciliar movement in repeated treatises and pamphlets of which the most important are the *De remediis afflictae ecclesiae* and the *De septem quaestionibus*. Together with the *De origine ac differentia principatus imperialis et regalis*, also known as *De monarchia orbis*, dedicated to Rodrigo Borgia, these works present an extremist view of papal omnipotence in both temporal and spiritual spheres. There can be no doubt that the voice of Arévalo was not that of any individual theologian of the times, but one which Pope Paul II had encouraged and favoured, as can be seen from his rapid series of promotions since 1464.

He died in September-October 1470 at Rome, just after the fall of Negroponte to the Turks. The effects of this rapid advance of Islam, an anticipation of their later strike at the Italian mainland, are recorded in a letter of commiseration to the aged Greek Cardinal Bessarion, in which he calls on him to suffer in silence and submit to the hidden designs of Providence. This personal experience, this unshakeable belief in the saving virtues of the just war, as carried on in Spain against the Moslem, this conviction that monarchy, papal and regal, is the only temporal institution which will preserve society from anarchy and bind humanity in obedience to the divine law, all these ideas form the general background to the *Compendiosa Historica Hispanica*, but they do not by themselves explain why he undertook to write this extensive history of his own country while resident in Rome.

II

In a previous article I pointed out the significance of Alfonso de Cartagena's experiences in Basle for the composition of his historical work, the *Anacephaleosis*.[10] In general terms, the circumstances that produced this chronicle are similar to those that gave rise to the *Compendiosa Historia Hispanica*.[11] Both authors were representatives of their nation abroad. Both

[10] *Art. cit.* in n. 1 above.

[11] For a description of the MSS. of the *Compendiosa*, see Menéndez Pidal, *Crónicas generales de España* (Madrid, 1918), pp. 175–8: Cirot, *Bulletin Hispanique*, xvi (1912), 34–5. These are ultimately all copies of the incunabulum printed in Rome by Ulrich Hahn, *c.* 1470; see Palau, *Manual . . .* (Barcelona, 1926), vi, 307. The reference to a copy printed by Sweynheim and Pannartz in Rome, 1468, in Simón Díaz, *Bibliogr.*, III, item 5690, must be an error. References to both the *Anacephaleosis* and the *Compendiosa Historia Hispanica* (abbreviated in future to *Compendiosa*) will be taken from A. Schott, *Hispaniae Illustratae* (Frankfurt, 1603), I.

had found in Basle and Rome a deep ignorance of their country which had stung and irritated them. This is not apparent in the introduction to the *Anacephaleosis*, added long after it was written, but it is given expression not only in the title, but also in the manifestly polemic tone of Arévalo's dedication to the reigning monarch of Castile, Enrique IV. His argument is framed in the terms of a classical comparison. Sallust had alleged that the Greeks owed their fame to the art of their historians rather than to their own merits, whilst among the Romans, "ingenium nemo sine corpore exercebat." This Arévalo transposes into the context of Spanish history, showing that he took his stand by the maxim (at this time fairly widespread) that his countrymen also spent less time writing than acting.[12] But he goes even further in suggesting that the fame of the Persians, Greeks and, indeed, the Romans, may be a pious exaggeration. There are many, he adds, who are disinterested in or deliberately ignore the geography, the races, the religion, customs and military exploits of the Spaniards. Others maintain there can be little of value in such a remote country. He does not mention these critics by name, but the turn of phrase recalls an issue of some decades earlier.

His innuendoes may be more clearly understood against the background of the well-known debate (in the 1440s) between the Italian scholar Leonardo Bruni and Cartagena over the former's translation of Aristotle.[13] The main point of the debate centred on Cartagena's defence of the older translation of William of Moerbeke, but at some juncture underlying antagonisms came to the surface. Cartagena had excused the lack of scholarship in Spain in somewhat the same terms as Arévalo to which Bruni testily replied to a friend: "Illud etiam leve, quod Italicos statim calamum arripere, inquit, quod otiosi sunt. Hispanos vero, quod regia cura sint occupati, calamo vacare non posse. Quasi vero Itali non Curiam habeant Romanam multo certe majorem quam sit regia, et infinitas publicarum privatarumque rerum occupationes. Nec sane consentaneum est ut in extremo mundi angulo plus humanarum occupationum sit quam in medio."

These last remarks must have provoked Cartagena, for in a later letter Bruni writes that the Castilian had reproved him for his comments about Spain being in "extremo mundi angulo . . . asserit enim mundum non habere angulos ac me redarguit quasi geometriae ignarum," and when Cartagena further charges him with ignorance of the history and geography of Spain, he adds curtly: "Alphonsus autem noster . . . nimio patriae detinetur amore;

[12] See the comments of M. R. Lida, *La idea de la fama en la edad media castellana* (México, 1952), p. 272, n. 106. Another ref. may be found in the prol. to the Castilian transln. of Leonardo Bruni's *De Bello Italico*: "los españoles en el escrevir o rrelatar fueron perezosos o negligentes. Ca por la mayor parte mas se ayudaron de los puños que de los pulgares e mas usaron de obras que no de palabras." MS. 7562, unfoliated, Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.

[13] For details of the debate, see A. Birkenmaier, *Der Streit des Alonso von Cartagena mit L. B. Aretino* in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters* (Munich, 1917), vol. xx, Heft 5.

itaque magnam putat, quae exigua est."[14] Thus, while Italy is placed at the hub of Europe, Spain is relegated to the circumference. The literal echo of these remarks in the dedication of the *Compendiosa* gives a fairly clear insight into the immediate causes of its composition and at the same time reveals the community of spirit between the two Castilians. Arévalo's main purpose is therefore to counter common misconceptions by continuing the historical work of Isidore, Lucas of Tuy and Ximénez de Rada up to the time of Enrique IV, choosing as his sources the classics who were respected by all and, as far as possible, those who wrote from first-hand experience, which in this context includes himself.

From the summary of the history given at the conclusion of the dedication it is clear that he has adopted the traditional pattern of the *Historia Gothica* of Ximénez de Rada. It falls into four parts. Parts II and III are an elaboration of this work, covering from the arrival in Spain of the Visigoths to the reign of Fernando III in the thirteenth century. Part IV takes up where the *Historia Gothica* stops and continues to the present day. The title might mislead one into believing that the *Compendiosa* covered the history of all the Peninsular kingdoms, but the axis of the narrative is uncompromisingly located in Castile and there is little additional data on the other kingdoms beyond that provided by the *Historia Gothica*, where only their origins are described in detail. Part I is by far the most personal and least truly historical section, and for many reasons, is the most revealing of contemporary trends of thought. Interesting for the variety of sources used and for the controversial theses presented, it anticipates the substance of the whole work and can best be described as a fusion of the traditional *Laus Hispaniae* with selected geographical details provided by recent humanist scholarship. Out of it emerges a moral portrait of the *homo hispanicus*, a very distant ancestor of the "essential" Castilian conjured up by Unamuno, Ganivet and Menéndez Pidal in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The *Laus Hispaniae* held a traditional place in the earlier histories, but beyond the well known eulogy of Trogus Pompeius, currently used from the times of Isidore, there was little that could appeal to the informed reader of fifteenth-century Italy. A *De Excellentia Hispaniae* preceded the thirteenth-century *Chronicon Mundi* of Lucas of Tuy, in which the advantages of the Peninsula are based on hagiographical data, and what few lines are devoted to the toponomy and natural products are drawn from scriptural sources. The *Commendatio Hispaniae* of the *Historia Gothica* follows in the same tradition, but with a change of emphasis, for instead of serving as an introduction, it is placed immediately after the invasion of the Moors and laments the loss of an earthly paradise to the heathen invader. The idea that the Goths came

[14] Arévalo's phrase is: "nonnulli bonarum artium ac rerum inexperti, quod in angulo mundi (ut aiunt) Hispania sita esse videatur, contendunt quod in angulo mundi (ut eorum verbis utar) ab orbis gloria aliena videatur." *Compendiosa*, p. 121: Bruni, *Epistolae*, ed. Mehus (Venice, 1741), II, 83; Birkenmaier, pp. 198–9.

to Spain because of its abundant riches has survived from Isidore, but this is subordinated to a homily on the distribution of God's gifts throughout the world and the duty of its inhabitants to render homage in return. The Alfonsine *Cronica de Espanna*, imitating the plan of the *Historia Gothica*, also includes a "Loor de Espanna" at the same point, but in both cases the object of the passage does not allow of a more detailed description of the Peninsula, either in antiquity or in contemporary times.

Arévalo is clearly sensitive to the possible criticism of using only Spanish sources, and it is partly for this reason that he modifies past practice. For Cartagena, his immediate predecessor, Ximénez de Rada's information was still satisfactory. He does, it is true, mention the "antiquitatis abyssus," but he does little or nothing to bridge it, since his only other source is the vernacular *Cronica de* 1344. For Arévalo other considerations weigh heavily.[15] Spain figured largely in the cosmographical works of the ancients, much more prominently than in their mediaeval equivalents, and perhaps most important of all, they afford him the opportunity of rounding out an Aristotelian theory which suited his basic purpose well, namely that geographical factors are important in forming the moral temperament. As sources, he mentions Strabo, Ptolemy, Mela, Pliny, Justinus (who epitomized Trogus Pompeius) and Solinus. This is a more imposing bibliography than had hitherto been assembled, but the initial impression is misleading. I cannot trace any specific reference to Pliny, there is one casual reference to Solinus and no *textual* quotations from Ptolemy or Mela. Justinus, however, is quoted repeatedly. More significant is the appearance in Spanish history for the first time of the names of Herodotus, Polybius and Strabo, three texts recently done into Latin by Valla, Perotti and Guarino, and used by Aeneas Sylvius in his unfinished history of Europe and cosmography of the world. Thus instead of one short chapter as in the *Anacephaleosis*, Arévalo devotes six to various aspects of Spanish topography and historical geography. Now the encomium of Isidore and Ximénez de Rada has developed into a relatively detailed survey of the Peninsula, based not only on the classical geographers, but also on his own personal observations.[16]

The points treated range from climate, with selected appreciative comment from Strabo, Justinus and Palladius Rutilus, to the fertility of the soil and its natural products. To this he adds contemporary comment on the flourishing wine trade of Spain with Flanders, England and Scotland, the abundance of olive plantations, the tanning and curing of hides and the tunny fishing on the south coasts. But it is not the agricultural wealth of the country that absorbs his attention. From Strabo and Justinus he draws his descriptions

[15] "Verum ne domesticae laudes ab Hispano viro allatae, Hispaniae gloriam minuant, dabunt fidem historiae rebusque enarrandis viri sapientes a saeculo famosi, praecipue Strabo etc." *Compendiosa*, p. 122.

[16] "Hispaniarum oras, littoraque et angulos a mari usque ad mare, seriose ac personaliter peragravi atque conspexi." *Compendiosa*, p. 122.

of the mining of metals, iron, lead and particularly silver and gold. These observations are supported by the evidence of his own experience. He assures us that the diggings were so extensive that the excavations, large as mountains, can be seen in his own day. The working had for the most part declined, not because of any falling off in demand, but because the skill in locating deposits had been lost. However, surface mining still continues, and he speaks of men and women assiduously searching the sands of the Tagus at dusk, or lucky finds by the ploughmen in the fields. Beyond this there are the great mercury mines and a whole range of chemicals useful to the alchemist (pp. 124–5).

The topographical description is short and based on Justinus, Mela and Strabo. Beyond the historical perspective evidenced by the comparison of the classical divisions of Spain with the modern kingdoms, he adds two observations of his own, moved perhaps by the remarks of Bruni noted above. Firstly, the classical cosmographers begin their works with Spain, since the Peninsula stands, as it were, at the gateway of the world, and secondly, divine Providence had placed the Pyrenees across its only land frontier, making it difficult to invade (p. 127). He has many personal views on the inhabitants and their customs, comparing them, like Strabo, with the land in which they live. But unlike the Greek, who distinguishes the poverty-stricken and quarrelsome tribes of the greater part of the Peninsula from the limited areas of more civilized life, he draws a composite and wholly favourable picture of a physically hardy, sober and freedom-loving community, antagonistic to all invaders.

III

Although the *Compendiosa* follows the pattern dictated by his main source, the *Historia Gothica*, by judicious insertion of other material, both Latin and Romance (and possibly oral tradition), his history is constructed to serve two purposes at once. On the one hand it expounds a doctrine of political organization and statecraft, designed to be of universal application: on the other, there emerge a certain number of theories about the historical rôle of Castile in which the individual ethos and the collective tradition play their respective parts. The pressure of interpretative comment is often so strong as to obscure the narrative line of his history and convert it into a series of embryonic treatises, which draw upon a range of erudition more astounding by its breadth than by the aptness with which it is quoted. This is more than likely due to his training as a canonist, with the result that his presentation in general tends to be verbose and repetitive, filled with a tedious accumulation of quotation, the verbal equivalent of the Plateresque architecture of his own country.

His declared intention is to select only the most illustrious deeds and associate them with: "praeclara ac relatu digna gesta et dicta tam ex sacra

scriptura quam ex annalibus Romanorum priscorum ac Graecorum similia exempla . . . moraliaque documenta et sapientium sententias, ut qui hanc Hispaniam historiam percurrerit, caeterarum etiam partium clariora facta legisse laetetur et aliquid ad humanae vitae informationem attigisse videatur (p. 191)."

It is as if the author had wished to write a latter day *Dicta et Facta* within the framework of a history of Spain, in which the main emphasis is laid on the political, ethical and religious principles of kingship. It is not difficult to see why such a theme should have drawn his attention. All through the years of his youth and maturity the Castilian crown, and, indeed, the Aragonese crown, was passing through a period of acute crisis which, in the absence of any major foreign conflicts, had maintained the country in a state of practically permanent civil strife. A series of long minorities, of which the last and most violently agitated one was that of Juan II, had allowed the main noble families a liberty of action unconstrained by any sense of loyalty and obedience to the crown. The result was that it became merely another element in the nobiliary struggle for self advancement. The king's association with aristocratic *parvenus* exacerbated the situation, so that during the reign of Juan II, according to Pérez de Guzmán, "fueron en Castilla tantas rebueltas e mouimientos e peligros cuantos non ouo en tiempo de reyes pasados por espaçio de dozientos años," or in the words of Arévalo himself, the country was "lacrimosa e mucho turbada por la intertestina discordia de bolliçios domesticos."[17] Royal power declined in the reign of his son to such an ebb that a rival nobiliary faction presented to the Pope its case for the deposition of Enrique and the recognition of his brother, the Infante Alonso. It has been suggested that this unsuccessful attempt to bring about papal intervention may have provoked Arévalo, resident in Rome at the time, to write his *De monarchia* and the treatise *De regno dividendo*. Alonso's supporters, unsympathetically received in Rome, argued subsequently that the Pope had no right to legislate on this point, and this is challenged in the *De monarchia* in a general enunciation of the principles governing the relations of Emperor, King and Pope.[18] In the *Compendiosa*, however, Arévalo is not so much concerned with the obedience of the king to higher authority as with the mutual duties of monarch and subject.

In the above work, in the *Vergel de los príncipes*, the *Suma de política* and other minor treatises, he laid down his views on the origin and nature of Christian kingship, using both Aristotelian and canonical arguments. He is at pains to point out the antiquity of the institution and the divine protection accorded it from the beginning. Above all, he sees the king as a military leader: "el rey es cabeça e fundamento de su Republica, de cuya virtut todos los miembros resçiben influencias virtuosas e cuyos fechos son a su pueblo

[17] Pérez de Guzmán, *Generactiones y Semblanzas* (Madrid, 1924), pp. 123–4; *Vergel de los príncipes*, p. 7; see also *Epistola sive tractatus . . . ad quendam venerandum religiosum Cartusiensem*, Salamanca, Cod., 2–c–4–181, f° 43v°–44r°.

[18] Trame, pp. 168–70.

necessarios enxiemplos . . . el primer exercicio e deporte real . . . es el magnifico fecho de la gloriosa milicia."[19] Seen in the terms of the later treatise, *De Pace et Bello*, in which war is conceived as the instrument which forges the supreme Christian virtues, the *Reconquista* is therefore envisaged not only as a divine obligation, but is also as the cradle of those qualities necessary to proper government.[20] As a result it is the warrior king that attracts his hyperboles in the *Compendiosa*. The early Asturian and Leonese kings are magnified according to their exploits against the Moors and compel comparison with the Greek and Roman pantheon of heroes. On the reverse side of the medal, there is no greater crime than sacrilege, impiety and compromise with the heathen, and the impious, like Rodrigo, Mauregato and Silo are confounded for their sins. The profanation of churches or any attempt to lay hands on ecclesiastical treasure is shown to have fatal effects for both pagan and Christian. Almansur, who had removed the bells from the cathedral of Santiago de Compostela to be used as oil-lamps in the mosque at Cordoba, was routed and killed soon after. Urraca, daughter of Alfonso VI, stands in much more sombre shadows than in the *Historia Gothica* or the *Anacephaleosis* because of the robbery she is held to have committed in the church of St. Isidore of Leon (p. 177).

In order to heighten and point up the moral directives of the history, Arévalo frequently moves outside his normal Latin sources to the later vernacular chronicles, richer in the illustrative story and epic reminiscence. Referred to baldly as the *Hispanorum annalia*, these can almost invariably be traced to the *Cronica de 1344* and the *crónicas particulares*. Let me choose a few instances. To support his view that it is the hardened, unsophisticated individual who best endures the rigours of kingship he includes the legend of the discovery of Wamba, the future Visigothic king, whom prophecy foretold would be found among his oxen in a remote part of Spain.[21] Or, again, he elaborates the figure of Ramiro the Monk, King of Aragon, brought back from the monastery to the throne, who curbs the nobles and cautions them with vernacular proverbs.[22] The epic event affords him the opportunity of enlarging on the relation of king and vassal noble. Thus the space given to the Castilian hero Bernardo del Carpio is supplemented by details from the *Cronica de 1344*, emphasizing in particular the grievous consequences of envy in the king which had, according to the legend, alienated his subject. Here, and in other cases where the topic of the rebel vassal occurs in the legendary sources, incidents disrespectful to the monarchy are reinterpreted or compressed out of existence. In Part IV,

[19] *Vergel*, p. 21.

[20] On the *De Pace et Bello* see Toni, pp. 308–42; G. G. Butler, "Bishop Roderick and Renaissance Pacifism" in *Studies in Statecraft* (Cambridge, 1920); Trame, pp. 182–5; "o quan alto e glorioso coraçon es mudar la paz deshonesta en justa descordia e guerra loable, de Dios acçepta e de la fe cathólica muy desseada." *Vergel*, p. 7.

[21] *Compendiosa*, p. 150; *Cronica Geral de Espanha de 1344* (Lisboa, 1956), ii, pp. 230–2.

[22] *Compendiosa*, p. 178: the Latin text carries the vernacular proverb, "non sabe la volpeia con quien trobeia." Pidal notes that this proverb and some accompanying detail was added to MS. IA of the *Cronica de Espanna*; see his ed., Madrid, 1955, II, pp. 477–8.

where the history is based exclusively on the vernacular chronicles, each monarch ceases to be the exemplification of one particular vice or virtue, and the intervention of Providence becomes more flexible. If, on the one hand he approves of Alfonso the Wise on the field of battle, his aspirations to become a paragon of learning are shown to have disastrous consequences. The presumptuous belief that he could have improved on divine creation (a rumour which probably emerged from Aragonese circles) together with his claims to the Holy Roman Empire are taken to be responsible for the death of his first-born and the rebellion of his other son Sancho. And if the latter earned the reputation of a disciplinarian by putting down a military mutiny unarmed, because of cruelty and lack of respect for his father as king he suffered persecution and unrest during his own reign.

As he approaches his own time, Arévalo seems to rely less on written sources and more on fictions or oral tradition which fit in with his didactic purpose. A subsequent example is the reign of Pedro el Cruel, whose fatal struggle with his bastard brother, Enrique de Trastamara, involved the major powers of Western Europe. Although he assents to the main judgement of López de Ayala, from whose chronicle he amasses an interminable list of Pedro's misdeeds, he also includes a number of obviously invented incidents, perhaps ballads originally intended as propaganda for the Trastamaran camp. These concern the death and funeral of Alfonso XI, Pedro's father, where a Greek councillor (why this curious choice of nationality?) prophesies the miserable future of Castile and the death of Pedro at the hands of his brother; the legend of the bewitched snake-belt given by Pedro to his first wife, and the story of the jester who, addressing Pedro mortally wounded on the floor of Bertrand du Guesclin's tent at Montiel, suggests that there had been an unnatural friendship between them. Entwistle thought that the snake-belt incident may have been taken from a lost ballad, but he did not pursue his investigations of this chronicle.[23] The prophecies of the Greek have some affinities, but only the most remote, with those in Ayala's chronicle, also, according to Entwistle, originating from ballads. The accusation of homosexuality (if my interpretation is correct) was not levelled at Pedro in any known text. The conversation on Alfonso XI's deathbed may properly be from Arévalo's own pen, since it illustrates his own theories on the inviolate nature of kingship which he had laid down in Bk. II of the *De Monarchia*. There he declares that no subject can alter the laws of succession or depose a lawful monarch: to do so leaves him open to the accusation of sacrilege.[24] In fact, in the two chapters following

[23] The editor of the *Cronica de Pedro I* by Ayala maintains that the earliest known version of this legend is to be found in the anon. life of Innocent VI (1352–62), published by S. Baluzius in *Vitae paparum avenionensium* (ed. G. Mollat, Paris, 1914–22); see *Biblioteca de Autores españoles*, lxvi, p. 433, n. 2; Entwistle, "The Romancero del Rey Don Pedro," *Modern Language Review*, xxv (1930), 316, and *European Balladry* (Oxford, 1939), p. 159.

[24] Rome, 1521: "Barones et subditi regis propter quodcumque delictum non possunt regem expellere aut deponere . . . et qui de talibus viribus publicis conaretur disponere committeret crimen sacrilegii," p. 73v°.

the reign of Pedro he puts forward the theory that the king's crimes should have been tolerated, although he in no way condones them (pp. 215–8). If a people have the misfortune to be ruled by a cruel king, it is by divine and not human decree, and every subject must submit, even when personally injured by the monarch. The only person who can properly depose a king who follows by right of succession is the pope. Rather surprisingly, Arévalo does not reject the view that Enrique de Trastamara killed his brother out of ambition and not purely from an outraged sense of justice. In his eyes, Enrique was an unwitting instrument of justice, who, by his very act, could not avoid calling the punishment of God upon himself and his children. This is made manifest in the death of Enrique's brother Sancho in a popular rising in Burgos, the disaster of Aljubarrota and the invasion of Galicia by John of Gaunt in support of his claim to the throne of Castile.

As a final illustration from Arévalo's own lifetime, let us take the career of Alvaro de Luna, favourite of Juan II, a subject which had fascinated many of his contemporaries. The judgement of Arévalo, unambiguously in favour of the final royal decree of execution, is at least fair and generous, and coincides with the views expressed by Cartagena. Arévalo had no wish to identify himself with the nobiliary faction which, in opposition to Alvaro, threatened both in this reign and the next to circumscribe the power of the throne. At the same time he could not fail to see in Alvaro's own ascendancy a surrender of the royal prerogative. His fate becomes an exemplary illustration of how the craving for power distorts a prudent and intelligent mind, and simultaneously a proof of the Biblical statement that one must not put one's trust in princes. The substance of the harangues which flank the account of his execution are so close to the moral doctrines of the author that we may assume, as in many other cases, that the historical element is slight. The main points of Alvaro's moral testament, that a successful career leaves one unprepared to meet adversity, coincide with the views attributed to Arévalo by Platina, the papal historian, in his dialogue with the Bishop, *De falso et vero bono*.[25]

In this highly selective analysis of the *Compendiosa* I have tried to show how through the basic design of the *Historia Gothica* Arévalo threaded legends, stories and glosses aimed at substantiating his own ethico-political ideas. It cannot be asserted that, as a historian, he tried to reassess the data of his predecessors. It is the insufficiency rather than the inaccuracy of the *Historia Gothica* or the *Anacephaleosis* that explain his frequent excursions into vernacular compilations or unknown fictional sources. His claim that he was writing a continuation of the *Historia Gothica* may be largely true, but it is by no means the whole truth. To an existing history he adds factual and legendary material which concerns the proper rôle of the prince and his relations with his subjects. Political decisions, however conceived to meet the needs of the moment, are judged by him on transcendental grounds. The Visigothic

[25] Venice, 1504, Bk. i.

king of the seventh century is taken as being able to respond to the same ethical principles as the Castilian monarchs of the fifteenth, and the actions of both are considered as significant guides for the future rulers of the Peninsula. Whether morally responsible or not, the king as a divinely approved guardian of the community must demand the utmost obedience from all ranks of society and in his turn seek the blessing of God through the pursuit of the *Reconquista*. Even when he fails to observe the tenets of the faith, through arrogance, as in the case of Alfonso X or Juan I, through weakness of character, as in the case of Juan II, or through the thirst for vengeance and the quest for power, as in the case of Sancho IV or Pedro el Cruel, the usurpation of his rights is not permitted, however worthy the end may seem. God may permit such usurpations in order to complete his divine plan, but the human intelligence, in prey to conflicting and egoistical passions, may not take upon itself the task of modifying the course of history.

The conflict of the two concepts of kingship, of the monarch as elected by and responsible to his subjects, and of the divinely consecrated leader have, of course, a long and involved history both in and outside Spain, but at this particular period the debate acquired an even more intense significance in the wider clash between the authority of Pope and Council, between the "authoritarian" and the "democratic" principle, between the doctrine of the supernaturally decreed and unalterable nature of the structure of human society and the doctrine of the common weal (*bonum commune*) which tended to regard the sovereign as a chosen executor of the law, and ecclesiastical and political institutions not as embodiments of the divine will, but as instruments of human advantage. I have already indicated to what side the sympathies of Arévalo inclined and it is no remote hypothesis to see in the *Compendiosa* a proof by historical argument of the issues contained in the *De libera et irrefragabili auctoritate Romani Pontificis*, the *Defensorium Ecclesiae* or the *De septem Quaestionibus Concilii Generalis*.

IV

The *Compendiosa* is, however, not only a combination of the *De Regemine Principum* with the *Speculum Vitae Humanae*. Arévalo, although he denies to others the intelligence to encompass the divine plan, claims to see in the past a pattern which will enhance and magnify the honour of Castile among the peoples of Christendom. In the latter half of Part I and at intervals throughout the historical narrative he maintains the following theses: that the Goths have a right to universal recognition because of their antiquity, their military prowess and their personal virtues; that the kings of Castile and Leon descend directly from the Visigothic line without a break; that all the territorial rights of the latter pass as a result to the former. All these special circumstances can be taken to prove Castile's claim to pre-eminence among

the Peninsula kingdoms. None of these points had been made by Arévalo for the first time. They had been implied in Isidore, Ximénez de Rada and their followers, but their consequences were only fully elaborated through the speeches made by Cartagena at the Council of Basle or in other memoranda and partially embodied in his chronicle.[26] It only remained for Arévalo to carry them to their ultimate conclusions.

As a resident of Rome in the opening years of the "humanist" movement, he must have been aware of the obloquy attached by the Italian to the name of Goth. From Petrarch and Boccaccio onwards scholars had expounded the idea that the Goths were responsible for the destruction of the Roman Empire, initiating thereafter a reign of cultural darkness which was only just receding in the present age. This theme reaches its peak in the sixteenth-century epic of Trissino, *Italia liberata dai Goti*, and from thence passes to the level of a well-worn topic. Such an interpretation of the past could not have any echo in the Peninsula where the *nobilitas Gotthorum* had been a recurrent phrase since the days of Isidore. But at no time did circumstance lead to a confrontation of historical views until the fifteenth century, when conciliar politics lent a new urgency to questions of national precedence. I have briefly discussed elsewhere the antagonisms which arose at Basle.[27] Here I shall note their impact on the historian's view of the past.

The chroniclers of Castile, following on Isidore, had exerted great ingenuity in filling out the legendary past of the Goths. Cartagena had already claimed that the Goths had a royal line before the birth of Hercules, then a common mile-stone in the mythological history of early Spain. The Amazons were held to be associated with them and so the victories of Queen Tomyris over Cyrus are shared by the Goths. The Getae, whose name was held to reflect an early form of *Gothi*, after settling in Scythia, put Vexoris the King of Egypt to flight, subdued Asia and defeated the Greeks. After this they burst into Europe, France and Italy, in which country they founded Verona, "quasi vae Roma, in odium Romanorum."[28] Their reputation in the ancient world is generally summed up in the words of Orosius: "Hos Alexander vitandos docuit, Pyrrhus pertimuit, Caesar exhorruit." All these observations are accumulated by Arévalo, with particular emphasis on the destruction of Rome by successive waves of invaders. But the conquest or, rather, as he would have it, the peaceful colonization of Spain is the Goths' greatest claim to fame: "putantes totius Europae monarchia potiri facile posse, si gentis Hispaniae aut subjectionem aut amicitiam nanciscerentur."[29] On the other hand, the

[26] Alfonso de Cartagena, *Allegationes . . . super conquestta Insularum Canarie contra Portuguenses a.d.* 1435, MS. 11341, Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid; *Proposición contra los ingleses*, ed. P. Francisco Blanco in *Ciudad de Dios*, xxx (1894), pp. 122–9, 211–17, 337–53, 523–42. The former is concerned with the rights of Castile to the newly colonized Canaries, the latter with the claim to precedence over England in the Council of Basle.

[27] *Art. cit.* in n. 1.

[28] *Anacephaleosis*, p. 253: *Compendiosa*, p. 131.

[29] *Compendiosa*, p. 131: this opinion is not expressed in the *Anacephaleosis*.

image of the Goths as a band of savages is taken as applying only to the very early years. The pagan Goths soon became humane, magnanimous, liberal and devoted to the arts and sciences.

The adoption of the Goths as the racial predecessors of the present monarchy raised several problems, of which the most delicate to a churchman was their Arianism. A heretical ancestry would combine ill with the equally widely accepted tradition of the Castilian as the crusader *par excellence*. Cartagena, in his efforts at Basle to present his compatriots as persistently orthodox from the time of their conversion by St. James, speaks only of "algunos enfeçionados de la heregia arriana."[30] For Arévalo, on the other hand, it is the Vandals who were initially responsible for spreading Arianism in Spain and Africa, and there is hardly a mention of it until the reigns of Leovigild and Recared, after whose profession of faith "nulla haeresis reperitur in Hispania orta aut defensa" (p. 131, p. 147).

The collapse of the Visigothic monarchy had, from the time of Ximénez been taken as a divine punishment for the sins of the last king, Rodrigo, whose personal responsibility was exaggerated by the legends of moral turpitude that grew around his name. Now one of the main purposes of the *Anacephaleosis*, and the reason for its genealogical form, is to emphasize the identity of outlook and the continuity of line between the Goths and Pelayo, the first so-called king of the new Christian kingdom of Asturias. This is essential to Cartagena's claim that the Castilian kingdom enjoyed an unbroken line of descent unparalleled anywhere in Europe. This, too, is elaborated by Arévalo.[31] He goes to some length to explain that the traditional title of Rodrigo as "the last King of the Goths" must not be interpreted as meaning that the line was cut short at this point (p. 155). It merely indicates that the title *Reges Gotthorum* and their insignia were set aside. The Visigothic monarchs were renamed kings of Asturias, Leon and eventually Castile: "posteri sui non fuerunt intitulati Reges Gotthorum, sed sumpserunt titulos Legionis et deinde Asturiarum, deinde Castellae (p. 169)." The primary object of this line is "Hispaniam restaurare et recuperare." Behind all this devious theorizing there lies a more mundane and contemporary explanation. Cartagena had contrived an historical foundation for the claim put forward by Castile to all the territories originally occupied by the Visigoths, with the adjacent islands, or more precisely to those lands which the Portuguese were in the process of colonizing, the Canaries and the North African coast. With Arévalo this debating point addressed to the papal court now passes into the realm of historical fact, and the sovereignty of these territories, according to him, passes to Castile in the reign of Fernando I, son of Sancho of Navarre.[32]

It is for this reason that only the king of Castile can legally use the title of

[30] *Proposición*, p. 537.
[31] *Allegationes*, f. 36v°: *Anacephaleosis*, p. 268: *Compendiosa*, p. 139.
[32] *Allegations*, f° 49v°–50r°: *Anacephaleosis*, p. 249: *Compendiosa*, pp. 128, 140, 169.

Rex Hispaniae. Although Cartagena did not carry this statement forward into the *Ana.* from his *Allegationes* on the rights of Castile to the Canaries, it is repeated here by Arévalo, which shows conclusively that he must have read closely the writings of his former protector.[33] A further proof of its legitimacy can be found in the common use of this form of address by foreign powers when communicating with the king of Castile. The other kings are known only by the name of their kingdom, Aragon, Navarre, Portugal, etc. His final proposition is based on legal practice; he who controls the greater part of an object can call himself master of it all, and the king of Castile rules over four of the six original provinces of the Peninsula.

The Visigoths, however, are not the only source of moral and political advantage to the modern Castilian. Arévalo turns aside from arguments based on Roman or Visigothic history to the primitive tribes of the Peninsula. Impressed perhaps by the account of Strabo, he is one of the first historians to seek a temperamental constant in the Spanish character through ancient to modern times. Who and what were these *Hispani*, who, fusing with the Goths, formed the present inhabitants of Spain? Cartagena had glossed over the point in the *Anacephaleosis*, but in the speech at Basle the nature of his thesis had led him to postulate the even earlier existence of a royal line governing that part of Spain territorially equivalent to Castile, and of whose kings the mythical Geryon was probably not the first.[34] Tradition, through the *Historia Gothica*, had located the battle of Hercules with the three-headed Geryon in Spain, and made him the first king. Now Geryon was to replace him as leader of the *Hispani*. Whatever this race signified to Cartagena, there can be no doubt that for Arévalo it is an ethnic group with well defined moral virtues coinciding remarkably with those possessed by the Goths. He repeats and rounds out the hypothesis of an early line of Peninsular kings. Geryon is "euhemerized" into the king of Castile and of three other kingdoms, Andalusia, Galicia and Extremadura, as his epithet *tricipite* signifies, "Nec est dubitandum ante Geryonem reges fuisse in Hispania, licet propter nimiam antiquitatem eorum nomina non retineamus" (p. 130). These assertions are made possible by the addition of Justinus as a source, where can be found the names of Teucer, Gargoris, Abides and other figures drawn from Greek writings. The most inspired exploration of this prehistorical period does not, however, come until the publication of the apocrypha of Annius of Viterbo at the end of the fifteenth century. Arévalo's approach leads him along different paths.

[33] *Allegationes*, f° 56v°: *Compendiosa*, p. 140. In the thought of Cartagena, the assumption of the title "Rey de España" is closely connected with the completion of the *Reconquista.* A pupil of his, Rodríguez de Almela, repeats his views in a letter at the conclusion of his *Batallas campales* (Murcia, 1487): "el reverendo don Alfonso de Cartagena escriue . . . que si pluguiese a la divina potencia que si en sus tiempos se conquistase y tomase por los christianos el regno de Granada, que [the King of Castile] se llamase e intitulase rey de España, dexando todos los otros titulos que ponia en su dictado."

[34] *Proposición*, p. 338: on the classical myths of Hercules and Geryon in Spanish chronicles, see my art., "Mythology in Spanish Historiography," *Hispanic Review*, xxii (1954), pp. 1–18.

He begins his characterization of the *Hispani* by using Aristotle's argument that there is nothing in the intellect that was not previously in the senses, and these senses are directly conditioned by natural surroundings (p. 125). Elsewhere, in the *Suma de política*, he assesses the capacities of peoples by reference to the climate and geographical circumstances. He contrasts the qualities of the North European and the Asian who represent the two temperamental extremes of Arctic and Tropic lands, the former "animosos e audaces e jmpetuosos," the latter "jntelectivas e industriosas e jngeniosas" but lacking in belligerency and thus in general subject to other powers. The successful expansion of the Greek and Roman Empires he attributes to a balanced possession of these qualities and their subsequent collapse to an inclination towards complacency and sophistication.[35] Carrying his argument one step further, it will be seen that a country like Spain, halfway between North and South, will enjoy immense natural advantages. It seems plausible to argue that the geographical description of Spain in the *Compendiosa* is contrived, at least in part, to explain the sobriety, the robustness and masculinity of the Hispani, who, as he learns from Justinus, avoid the effeminate pleasures of wine and hot baths which the Romans introduced after the Second Punic War.[36] The Roman occupation is construed as a struggle against an invader who sought to undermine the rural simplicity of Hispanic existence by the vices of an advanced civilization, and past history is ransacked for examples of revolt and rebellion among the Lusitani, the Numantini, the Calagurritani. Livy's Viriatus, "primum pastor, inde latro" is transformed into an "acerrimus dux . . . tantos enim ad bellum populos concitavit et saepe Senatus res Hispanicas deserere cogitaret" (p. 126). Again and again in later phases of Castilian history he parallels the deeds of kings and nobles with those of the "priscos Hispanos" (pp. 176, 194, 199, etc.); Alfonso VI destroyed the *thermae* and prohibited all pleasures that weakened his army (p. 176); Enrique IV, to whom the history is dedicated, is made (rather against historical evidence) into an epitome of the masculine virtures in that he avoids soap and water, cosmetics and wine, "quibus delicamentis nihil corporibus humanis funestius atque crudelius esse potest, veluti quae corpus debilitant, animosque effoeminant, atque res bellicas imbecilles et fragiles homines reddunt" (p. 243).

The pre-eminence of Castile is not only based on historical fact and the moral virtues of its inhabitants, but also on supernatural dispensation. This belief that the nation had been chosen by God to fulfil some part of a providential design gathers momentum as the fifteenth century unfolds. Just before and immediately after the beginning of the reign of the Catholic Monarchs the air

[35] *Suma de política*, ed. R. Beneyto Pérez (Madrid, 1944), pp. 41, 42, 47.

[36] Trogus Pompeius, xliv, pp. 2, 7–8; *Compendiosa*, pp. 125–6. This view of the Spanish character becomes a well established topic in the sixteenth century. See Mariana's comment in his *Tratado contra los juegos públicos*: "Grande e invencible es el ánimo de nuestra gente; los cuerpos, con la manera de vida áspera y por beneficio de la naturaleza, son sufridores de trabajo y de hambre, con las cuales virtudes se han vencido grandes dificultades por mar y por tierra." In *Bibl. de Autores Españoles*, xxxi, p. 459.

is heavy with prophecies of an undefined future grandeur for Castile. She is identified with the power that is to forge the future destiny of Spain by virtue of the rôle ascribed to her in the *Reconquista* from earliest times by historians and political pamphleteers. This "messianic impulse," as Américo Castro has defined it,[37] can be detected in the *Anacephaleosis* of Cartagena, who maintains that the kings of Castile are bound by a sacred duty to carry on the Holy War. In fact, one of the reasons given by him at Basle why the Castilian royal family is superior to the English is that they are the elect leaders of a crusade, and the pious hope that Castile would one day unite solidly against the Moor is so closely identified with him that it is recorded in unequivocal terms in Lucena's *Vita Beata*, written some years after his death.[38] In the *Anacephaleosis*, the *Reconquista* subsides or flourishes according to whether vice or virtue prevails among the Castilians. The union of Castile with Leon was ordained by God, and the chronicle concludes with the fervent prayer that the Almighty, as the Old Testament figure of the Lord of Hosts, will aid the expansion of Castile under the banner of the Holy Cross. In his life and works Arévalo inherits a strong attachment to the same cause, adapting it to a wider, European context. At the Congress of Mantua he delivered an oration in defence of the ideal of the crusade, and was one of the few to accompany Pius II to Ancona, where the Pope died, dispirited after a vain effort to promote a concerted naval expedition against the Turks. The sacred quality of such a war is made the main theme of one of Arévalo's dialogues, in which Platina, the humanist, extols the virtues of peace while he points out the inevitability of war as part of the human condition in a gloss of the Biblical phrase, *militia est vita hominis super terram*.[39]

In anticipation of the crusading role of Castile, Arévalo sees God's protection in the most varied details of the history of the Peninsula. Its geographical situation, protected by the sea and the Pyrenees, is divinely decreed (p. 127). The unbroken succession of rulers from Goth to Castilian is a supernatural reward for upholding the cult of St. James and the dogmas of the Catholic Church (p. 139). In this light the whole pattern of the *Reconquista* is interpreted. In both the *Anacephaleosis* and the *Compendiosa*, Pelayo, the first king of Asturias, is preserved through divine intervention (*Anacephaleosis*, p. 268; *Compendiosa*, p. 151). The Norman invasions in the early Middle Ages are repelled by the grace of God and the death of Almansur at the height of his military fame is providential (pp. 159, 167), as is the rise of Castile from the moment of rebellion against Leon to the achievement of independence and separation from that kingdom (p. 169). The permanent union of these two

[37] A. Castro, *Aspectos del vivir hispánico*, Buenos Aires, p. 21.

[38] *Proposición*, p. 352; "Que gloria de rey, que fama de vasallos, que corona de España, si el clero religioso y sin regla fuesen contra Granada y los caballeros con el rey errumpiesen en Africa . . . mayor riqueza seria crescer reinos que thesoros amontonar." Lucena, *Vita Beata*, ed. Bertini, Torino, 1950, p. 148.

[39] Trame, p. 100; Toni, p. 320.

kingdoms, described as the "reintegratio monarchiae Hispaniae," is brought about because Fernando III sought to widen the boundaries of his kingdom, not for his own glory, as his son Alfonso X is construed to have done by his presumptuous claims to succeed as Holy Roman Emperor, but for the greater glory of God.

V

Can we now, after this analysis of the *Compendiosa*, chart Arévalo's position among the diverse currents of contemporary historiography? His debt to the traditional form of the general chronicle is clear, but this does not weaken the claim that he was the first historian of the fifteenth century to feel the need to rewrite, gloss and bring up to date the thirteenth-century chronicle of Ximénez de Rada. On the other hand, one must not forget the important influence exerted by his erstwhile superior, Cartagena. It was in reality the latter's theses that gave backbone and flesh to the *Compendiosa*. It was he who suggested the creation of a mythical antiquity for Castile; it was he who resurrected the "neo-Gothic" thesis and through it proclaimed the right of the Castilian kings to the greater part of the old Visigothic kingdom. One might, in fact, suggest that although Arévalo openly acknowledged his debt to the Archbishop of Toledo, it was the immediate, if concealed, example of the Bishop of Burgos that stimulated him to write a history of Spain. He did, of course, go beyond the simple genealogical form of the *Anacephaleosis*. The *Compendiosa* contains the larger, the more presumptuous vision. What is more, it is a vision which anticipates that of later historians. Nearly every major event, every catastrophe or victory, every shift of power is interpreted in the light of the ultimate glorification of Castile, a country which has inherited a sacred mission. A similar patterning of history, ascribed to the intervention of Providence, is to be found in the later chronicles of Palencia, Valera, Pulgar and Lucius Marineus Siculus.[40] There is, however, one important difference. Arévalo was still waiting for the accomplishment of this mission. The later historians, writing in the reign of Fernando and Isabel, claimed to see its fulfilment under their very eyes.

If one judges the chronicles in the light of important cultural changes that were then taking place in Italy, is it possible to detect in its historiographical approach the influence of humanism, as some critics have done? This is a very difficult issue and an important one for literary history. The arguments put forward by Cirot in favour of such a view are not very convincing.[41] One

[40] Palencia, *Crónica de Enrique IV*, transl. Paz y Melia, Madrid, 1904–8, ii, pp. 159–63, 367–71; iii, pp. 309–10; Valera, *Epístolas*, Madrid, 1878, pp. 35, 47, and quotations given in the prol. to Carriazo's ed. of his *Crónica de los reyes católicos*, Madrid, 1927, p. lx; Pulgar, *Crónica de los reyes católicos*, Madrid, 1943, i, p. 3, and Cepeda Adán, "El providencialismo en los cronistas de los reyes católicos," *Arbor*, xvii, (1950), pp. 177–90; Marineus Siculus, *De Laudibus Hispaniae* (s.l.s.a.), f° 38; *De Rebus Memorabilibus* in Schott, i, p. 504.

[41] Cirot, *Histoires génévales d'Espagne*, Bordeaux, 1904, pp. 44–5; Menéndez y Pelayo, *Bibliografía hispano-latina clásica*, Santander, 1950, iii, pp. 186–9: Toni, p. 221: Trame, p. 205.

could, it is true, point to Arévalo's omission of patently fictional elements originally introduced by the *Cronica de Espanna*, to his use of Strabo and the quotations ascribed to Polybius; but I have tried to show that he subordinates Strabo's data to a thesis of his own, without dispelling the obscurities that surrounded the history of pre-Roman Spain, as Margarit, the Catalan historian, was later to do.[42] The remarks drawn from Polybius are apophthegmatical in nature, and I have so far been unable to trace them in the current Latin translation by Perotti. In this instance one could compare the more effective way that Lorenzo Valla uses the Greek's philosophy of history in his Latin biography of Fernando I of Aragon.[43] One could also argue that the rôle Arévalo gives to Providence, and the manner in which he heavily glosses historical events, hardly parallel the approach of a Bruni or a Poggio. Bruni writes his history of Florence bearing in mind his classical reading, the immediate political situation and his experience as a chancellor of state. Arévalo, on the other hand, writes as a canonist and a moral philosopher, as the author of the *Speculum Vitae Humanae*, and his work shows a greater familiarity with the *Dicta et Facta* of Valerius Maximus, the *Vitae Philosophorum* of Diogenes Laertius, the *Polycrator* or *De nugis Philosophorum* of John of Salisbury than with the standard classics. True, he quotes Livy now and again, but the profit he draws from the Decades is slim.

From his biography one can draw other evidence for his ignorance of or lack of sympathy for the wider aims the humanists were pursuing. Two events from the 1460s teach us something of Arévalo's attitude to education through the classics. They are the abolition of the College of Abbreviators in 1464 with the dismissal of Pius II's nominees and the suppression by Paul II of the Roman Academy in 1648. The indignant and vituperative secretary Platina and the founder of the Academy, Pomponius Laetus, both found themselves in the Castle of Sant' Angelo under the custody of Arévalo. The Pope at this period had declared himself violently opposed to the *studia humanitatis* in the schools. In his *De Remediis*, Arévalo echoes the papal viewpoint, advising the postponement of the teaching of secular and pagan classics until after a period of religious instruction, so that youth would not be led astray.[44] The reasons for this curious outburst on the part of the Papacy are nowhere clearly set out, but it is credible that Paul II should have feared a local explosion of anti-papal feeling under the guise of a reborn Roman republicanism. In the correspondence between gaoler and prisoner, Pomponius Laetus (a sort of latter-day academic Cola di Rienzi), the temperament of humanist and canonist are neatly exemplified. The former, without books in his cell, enlarges

[42] Tate, "El MS. i les fonts del *Paralipomenon Hispaniae*," *Estudis Romànics*, Barcelona, vol. IV (1952–4), iv, pp. 107–36.

[43] In Schott, i, pp. 727–85.

[44] Pastor, *History of the Popes*, London, 1894, iv, pp. 38–6 ; and appendix 21, p. 491; Creighton, *The History of the Papacy*, London, 1911, iv, pp. 10, 50–6; H. Jedin, "Sánchez de Arévalo und die Konzilsfrage unter Paul II, "*Historisches Jahrbuch*, lxxiii (1954), p. 111.

rhetorically on his love for literature, "profundus, immensus, insatiabilis ita est ut non tantum me incitet, sed obruat." In deference to Arévalo's tastes, he suggests he might be allowed Lactantius (the "Christian Cicero") or Macrobius. His gaoler's reply is to send him a short treatise of his own damning the Conciliar party.[45]

I suggest, therefore, that if Arévalo's residence in Rome had any effect on him, it rendered more acute his feeling of the gap which divided the cultural tradition of the Christian/Goth from the Christian/Roman. The *Compendiosa* and the *History of the Florentine People* by Bruni can both be considered, it is true, as responses to local political situations, the maintenance of Florentine independence in face of a Milanese threat or the defence of Enrique IV's control over a shaky monarchy, but the picture they draw of the past and the present affords a striking contrast. One saw the rebirth of the virtues of the Roman *civitas*, the other called for a reawakening of the race which had challenged and defeated the Roman Empire.

To conclude, we can trace in the *Compendiosa* the experiences of the jurist, the moral philosopher, ambassador and papal politician. The core of its narrative is at once an amplification of the theories of Cartagena and a transposition of the Bishop's political and moral ideas into an historical framework, a defence and an apology for his country's own achievements. Considered against the wider background of fifteenth-century Europe, these two histories, the *Anacephaleosis* and the *Compendiosa Historia Hispanica*, can be said to owe their existence to the same complex of circumstances, the increasing political vitality and self-assertion of Castile not only in the Peninsula, but also in Europe. In papal and conciliar gatherings it takes the form of a vigorous reaction against the accusations of backwardness and ignorance, particularly from Italians. This found expression in a challenge to the heritage of Rome. These Romans, moved by "superbia et ambitione dominandi et aviditate gloriae mundanae" could only with difficulty overcome the stubborn Hispani and succumbed eventually to the valour of the Goths.[46] It is curious indeed that no other Peninsular kingdom (and all could claim the same historical background) cared to justify itself in these terms. One can be easily misled by the fact of Arévalo's long residence in Rome or by his acquaintance with humanists or humanist texts, without realizing at the same time that such contacts could also perpetuate underlying and deep-rooted differences of outlook.

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[45] Creighton, *op. cit.*, iii, p. 279.

[46] "Pugnabant Hispani pro libertate quam vita cariorem habent, adeo quod nullus ex ducibus Romanorum reperiebatur qui acceptare auderet se mitti adversus eos. Ibi cecidit Sergius Galua consul; ibi Scipio Africanus in finibus Galecie mortuus est (!), vbi adhuc hodie eius existit honorabilis tumulus. . . . Inclita et nobilis militie Gothorum gens, non ignorans summi dei esse preceptum 'libera eum qui iniuriam et violentiam patitur,' predictos Alanos et Suevos et demum ipsos Romanos vi et armis ab Hispanis expulit." *De monarchia*, f° 54r°.

LOCAL STYLE IN CHURCH ARCHITECTURE IN THE STOUR VALLEY

In the Middle Ages the characteristics of buildings were to a very large extent dependent on the materials available in their localities. They also reflected the social and economic history of their time. This article, which is a study of a group of churches in south Suffolk and north Essex dating chiefly from the fourteenth, fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, is an attempt to illustrate these facts. It is not possible in so short a space to treat the subject at all comprehensively. Certain features of the buildings, therefore, have been selected and considered in relation to aspects of their geographical, economic and social background. First the plans and general development of the churches are described as throwing light on the economic prosperity of the district. Then porches and roofs are shown as illustrating the use of local building materials. Towers are then dealt with to show the relation of the buildings of this district with the wider region of East Anglia. Finally, mouldings are discussed with the aim of showing the relation of the churches

FIG. 3

of the district to one another. Only the sixteen most important churches in the district have been studied in any great detail.[1]

The following abbreviations are used:

App.	Appendix.
N.C.C.	Norwich Consistory Court Registers.
n.d.	No date.
no.p.	No probate.
P.C.C.	Prerogative Court of Canterbury Registers.
Sud. A.C.	Sudbury Archdeaconry Court Registers.
Suf. A.C.	Suffolk Archdeaconry Court Registers.
R.C.	Royal Commission on Historical Monuments: An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Essex.

Plans and the Geographic and Social Background

The development of plans was due partly to the evolution and exigencies of ritual, but also to the increasing wealth of the population. From the simple twelfth-century plan, as seen at Belchamp Otton, was evolved the type *par excellence* of East Anglia, which characterizes the majority of the churches of the valley.

Belchamp Otton church, when built in the twelfth century, had a rectangular nave and chancel. The latter was rebuilt in the thirteenth century, and the church was restored in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and a porch added, but it still retained its simple plan.[2] Similarly, at the neighbouring village of Belchamp Walter there is a small thirteenth-century chancel, but here the nave was rebuilt in the fourteenth century and a west tower and south porch added in the fifteenth.

Aisles were added to churches of this type to provide room for altars, to make a route for processions and to accommodate the increasing population. At Belchamp St. Paul's also the simple plan was retained until the second half of the fifteenth century, despite rebuildings; but then a north aisle was added to the nave.

The addition of two symmetrical aisles to the nave led to the most usual type of plan in fifteenth-century England, as at Cavendish, Nayland and Dedham. At Nayland and Dedham, however, the easternmost bay of the nave was included in the ritual chancel by the position of the rood-screen. At Nayland, especially, owing to the short structural chancel, this plan is very similar to that at East Bergholt.

The growing popularity of chantries in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries led to a greater demand for altars, and therefore to the addition of chancel chapels. From the end of the thirteenth century until the Reformation the foundation of chantries and chantry chapels became more and more

[1] Fig. 3, where the underlining indicates one or, in the case of Sudbury, three of these important churches.

[2] Plate IIIA. Plans of Essex churches mentioned in this article may be seen in R.C., vol. 1, 1916, and vol. 3, 1922.

frequent. Individuals often left bequests to provide priests to say masses for their souls.[3] Often, also, chantries were founded by religious gilds, which were formed for mutual assistance and for charitable and religious duties.

The chantry services were frequently held at the High Altar or at one of the existing minor altars. Sometimes, however, new chapels were partitioned off as in the case of the chantry of Thomas Spring the Clothier at Lavenham. This is a very interesting chantry in a church which benefited from the generosity of the clothiers perhaps more than any other in the district. This subject and the sequence of the work at Lavenham has been worked out in much detail.[4] In his will of 1523 Thomas Spring said he wished to be buried before the altar of St. Katherine and asked that a tomb with a parclose should be made. The fine early sixteenth-century parclose screen remains.

Often gilds gave donations to the general building fund. The rebuilding of the chancel, nave aisles, porches, west tower and spire of Thaxted church, farther south in Essex, may have been due to the foundations of chapels and the generosity of religious gilds.[5]

At Ridgewell a north chapel was added in the fourteenth century, one to St. Gregory's, Sudbury, in the fifteenth century and a south one to Great Bromley in the late fifteenth century. There was possibly also one at Cavendish on the site of the present vestry. An interesting feature of the plan at Ridgewell is that when the north aisle of the nave was built in the fifteenth century it was abruptly canted out towards the east end. It has very reasonably been suggested that this was to provide more space for altars.[6]

When symmetrical chapels were added to the chancel stopping one bay west from the east wall, the typical East Anglian plan is reached. Where there is no chancel arch they are often continuations of the nave aisles, as at Long Melford. This type of plan coincided with a great development in the art of woodwork. Screens were placed right across the whole width of the church to divide off the chancel and chapels. The long unbroken roofs of nave and chancel are very effective. This is the usual plan and elevation of the larger churches of East Anglia. But in the Stour valley the variation with a chancel arch is more frequent, there being also arches between the nave aisles and chancel chapels, as at All Saints', Sudbury. In the Stour valley symmetrical chancel chapels are chiefly later than the middle of the fifteenth century. At All Saints', Sudbury, the north chapel was built in the fourteenth century and the south one late in the fifteenth century.

At East Bergholt, although the present aisles were built in the early sixteenth century, one of the former ones had been built or rebuilt only fifty years

[3]. *V.* App., Will of John Hulke of Bures, 1513.

[4] B. MacClenaghan, "The Springs of Lavenham," 1924, and F. L. Ransom, "Lavenham, Suffolk," 1937.

[5] A. H. Thompson, "The Historical Growth of the English Parish Church," 1929, p. 33.

[6] R.C., vol. 1, p. 225.

before.[7] In this earlier church there was an altar of St. John,[8] probably not merely against the wall of the aisle, but in a chancel chapel, as Robert Myller in 1487 wished to be buried "in choro Sancti Johannis Baptiste ecclesie beate Marie de Estbergholt." The present aisles and chapels were not finished till after the first quarter of the sixteenth century. Robert Cole, clothmaker of Stratford, in 1526, left enough freestone to make up the "warke there" (East Bergholt) "that is to say the body of the same churche with the north aisle."[9] In 1534 Robert Rignold the Elder requested that his son should have glazed "all the wyndowes in the nethir storye of the north side of the cherche of Estbergholt." So the building was probably finished at this date.[10]

At Clare the rebuilding of the whole church must have been finished before 1490. Sir William St. John Hope considered that the church was built in this order: nave arcades, aisles and clerestory, then the chancel and chancel aisles and lastly the vestry.[11] The chancel was probably in progress or on the point of being started in 1478, when Walter Qwhygth left 2s. 6d. to its fabric.[12] The last work would be the roofing of the vestry to which Edmund Hoberd made a bequest in 1487.[13] In this church the north and south chancel chapels stop one bay west of the east wall of the chancel. To the east of the north chapel the vestry reaches rearly flush with the east wall.

A further development of plan is when nave and chancel are fully aisled. In its most characteristic form, this plan does not occur in this district. There is an approach to it at Stoke by Clare, where the south aisle reaches flush with the east wall of the chancel, and, although the north chapel ends one bay from the east, this bay is filled by the sixteenth-century vestry.

At Bures, similarly, the south chapel reaches flush with the east end and there is a vestry to the north. The nave arcades, not having been rebuilt after the early fourteenth century, are low and comparatively massive when compared with the light arches dividing the south chapel from the chancel. Before the building of the present Waldegrave Chapel in the early sixteenth century, there was already one chancel chapel, possibly two. Alice Reysbury, in 1481–2, left a bequest towards the upkeep of a light before the image of the Virgin "in principale cancello."[14]

Stratford St. Mary has its east end almost straight across, the chancel projecting an almost negligible amount. The south aisle was built soon after

[7] *V.* App., East Bergholt: Will of Robert Hogge, 1442–3.
[8] *V.* App., East Bergholt: Will of Robert Forete, 1455.
[9] P.C.C., 29, Porch.
[10] *V.* App., East Bergholt: Will of Robert Rignold the Elder, 1534.
[11] Sir William St. John Hope, "Notes on Clare Church, Suffolk," 1958.
[12] *V.* App., Clare: Will of Walter Qwhygth, 1478.
[13] *V.* App., Clare: Will of Edmund Hoberd, 1487.
[14] *V.* App., Bures: Will of Alice Reysbury, 1481–2.

the middle of the fifteenth century, and the north aisle and north chapel made up to the east end in the years following 1526.[15]

This development of the plans in the district shows that there was much rebuilding during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The important churches were of impressive size when seen from the outside. Inside they were rich with carved screens and roofs, splendid coloured glass, fine monuments and much colour. The account by William Dowsing of destruction in the seventeenth century gives some indication of the beauty of glass and painting surviving even then.[16] In some churches, such as Long Melford, enough glass remains to give an idea of the original condition.

This period of the enlargement and enrichment of the churches coincides with the time when East Anglia was at the height of its economic prosperity. The care lavished on these buildings reflects not only the devotion of the population, but also their wealth. The chief industries bringing in this wealth to them were trade and shipping, fishing, agriculture, and especially cloth-making.

The extensive coastline of East Anglia, its rivers and its good harbours helped in the development of trade. King's Lynn, one of the most important ports, had good water communications with Warwickshire, Rutland, Northamptonshire, Leicestershire, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Huntingdonshire and Cambridgeshire. It was the nearest port to the great fair of Stourbridge. There was a Hanseatic settlement at King's Lynn, as well as at Yarmouth and Ipswich. Ipswich, nearer to the Stour valley, had its importance increased by the estuary of the Orwell being a place of assembly for ships departing for the continent. Harwich, also, at the mouth of the Orwell and the Stour, was a port of consequence.

The position of the district on the east side of England brought it into contact with the mainland of Europe. It was connected chiefly with Flanders, whither it exported foodstuffs as well as wool. Flanders, in turn, was closely linked with the great fairs of Champagne and east France and was connected with the Hanseatic organization of the Baltic and the Venetian organization of trade in the Mediterranean and the East.

In the fourteenth century the export of raw wool was very important. Essex, Suffolk and Norfolk all produced a fair quantity of wool of varying quality. Most of the wool exported from East Anglia, however, came from

[15] *V.* App., Stratford St. Mary: Wills of Thomas Clerk, 1458, John Smith, 1467, and Edward Mors, 1526.

On the exterior of the north aisle is the inscription:

"ORATE PRO ANIMABUS THOME MORS ET MARGARETE UXORIS EIUS QUI ISTAM ALAM FFIERI FECERUNT ANNO DNI mccccIxxxviii."

On the exterior of the north chapel is the inscription:

"PRAY FOR THE SOULLYS OF EDWARD MORS AND ALYS HIS WYFE AND ALL CHRISTIAN SOWLYS. ANNO DOMINI 1530."

These inscriptions have been much restored.

[16] "The Journal of William Dowsing," ed. by C. H. E. White, 1885.

the north and west of England.[17] In the fifteenth century cloth became an export of more importance than raw wool. Other exports were wheat and barley. The light soil of east Suffolk was favourable to the growth of the latter, which was sent to the breweries of Ghent and Bruges.

Fishing was a prosperous occupation for the coast towns. Farther north than the Stour the parish church of Lowestoft reflects the wealth its inhabitants gained by both trade and fishing. At Walberswick the fishermen provided herrings to feed the masons who worked on their church tower.[18]

The greatest East Anglian industry of the later fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries was clothmaking. The two great districts were the area round Norwich and Worstead, and the Stour valley. The families which had sufficient capital and were enterprising enough to set up as clothiers became rich and prosperous. The Aulnagers' accounts for 1394–8 show that capitalism was already important in the trade.[19] It was encouraged by the division of labour and the expansion of the market from a local to a national and international sphere. The class of clothiers generally came from dealers in cloth or finishers, but sometimes from the more subordinate branches of the industry.

Such clothier families as the Springs of Lavenham and the Morses of Stratford St. Mary were very generous towards church building, as can be seen both in their wills and in the structures themselves. Clothiers' marks and initials can be seen on many churches, for example, on the south porch of Stratford St. Mary, the tower at Lavenham and the north chapel at Glemsford.[20]

The nobility of the district were also generous patrons. Outstanding were the family of the de Veres, Earls of Oxford. They played a great part in the rebuilding of Lavenham church.[21] Their badges of a boar, a screwjack and a molet appear on the building there.[22] This last device is seen frequently in south Suffolk and north Essex, as at East Bergholt and Gosfield.

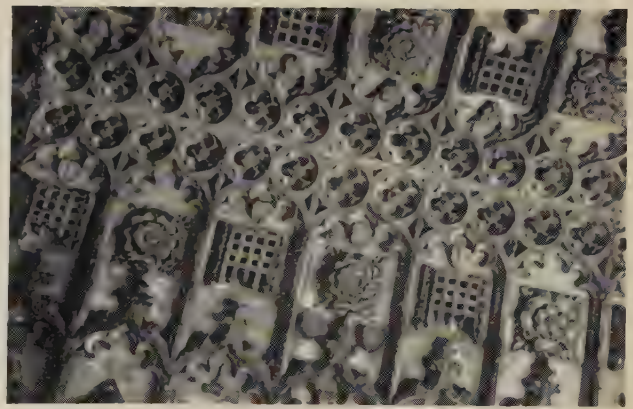
It is impossible to estimate the importance of the influence of religious orders and of the secular clergy. The architecture of religious houses was often far in advance of that of the locality. Such a building as the Abbey at Bury St. Edmunds would have immense influence on the work in the surrounding district.

The creation of vicarages was another factor which had influence on buildings. They were very important in the mediaeval ecclesiastical history of East Anglia. A great number of benefices were appropriated to religious houses. The patronage of the wealthy priory of Butley was a great advantage to Dedham at the rebuilding, when there were funds enough to procure stone from Caen

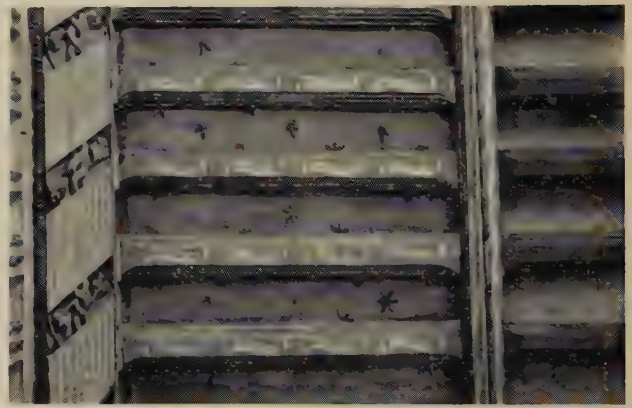
[17] E. M. Roxby, "East Anglia," in "Great Britain: Essays in Regional Geography," ed. by A. G. Ogilvie, 1937, p. 163.
[18] L. M. Redstone, "Our East Anglian Heritage," 1951, p. 51.
[19] E. Lipson, "English Economic History," 1947, vol. 1, p. 469.
[20] Plate IV D.
[21] B. MacClenaghan, *op. cit.*, p. 31.
[22] Plate IV C.

A
BELCHAMP OTTON

B
GREAT BROMLEY

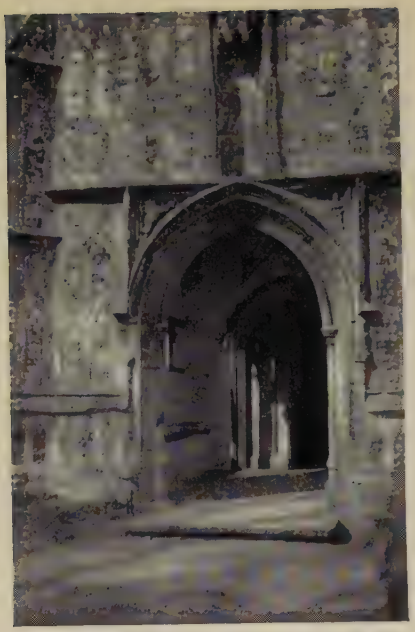


C
DEDHAM
Roof of Tower



D
LONG MELFORD
Roof of Clopton Chantry Chape

PLATE III



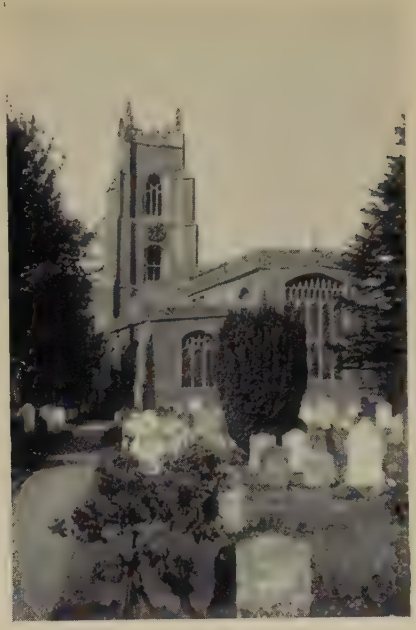
A
GREAT BROMLEY
South Porch Doorway

B
STOKE BY CLARE
South Porch

C
LAVENHAM
South Porch

D
LAVENHAM
Thomas Spring's Merchant's mark
on base of tower

A
CLARE



B
STOKE BY NAYLAND

C
LANGHAM
Ironstone in chancel wall

D
WORMINGFORD
Brick quoin of tower

A
Burgh
South Porch

B
Dedham

C
East Bergholt
Base of tower showing flint rubble core

D
Dedham
Crowned "M" in flushwork on base of tower

in Normandy. It should be remembered, however, that a monastery as rector was responsible only for the repair of the chancel. Generally the chief aim in possessing the patronage was to enrich the monastery, and there would be strict economy in the money spent on the fabric. Where a monastery owned the manor as well, however, more would probably be spent.[23]

Individual priests might have some influence on the design of features of the buildings. In 1410 Thomas Guymesby, Rector of Long Melford, exchanged livings with Master William Cavendyssh, Rector of Bulmer.[24] It is interesting to note that the windows of the north aisle of Bulmer church are identical in design with those of the north aisle of Cavendish. They may be as early as the first decade of the fifteenth century, and Master William may have been influenced by the church of his native village.

However, although ecclesiastics and lay patrons may have suggested ideas for certain features to the master mason, it is now definitely accepted that the designers of mediaeval buildings were nearly always master craftsmen and that ecclesiastics and lay patrons had neither the necessary training nor experience.[25]

The master craftsmen were sometimes of more than local importance, as will be seen when the building of the towers of Dedham and Lavenham is considered.[26] Most masons working on the average church, however, were local men.[27] An example is seen in the contract for the building of Walberswick tower. It was drawn up between Thomas Baugot, Thomas Wolford, William Ambrynghale and Thomas Pellyng of Walberswick, on the one hand and Richard Russell of Dunwich and Adam Powle of Blythburgh, masons, on the other.[28]

True, masons frequently travelled about the country,[29] but they were the more skilled and experienced ones and would have been hired for the more important churches which had considerable funds. Often the local master mason was the designer. He would have limited experience and be influenced chiefly by buildings in the vicinity. On the other hand, both he and the masons working under him would have a more personal interest in the fabric of the churches they worked on than would a stranger.

It should be remembered that, despite the encouragement and help given by the clergy and nobility and by lay and monastic patrons, it was the parishioners themselves, especially in the smaller churches, who were the

[23] A. H. Thompson, *op. cit.*, pp. 13–15.
[24] Clyfford XXIX. Registers of the Bishops of London in the Bishop of London's Registry.
[25] On this subject *v.* L. Salzman: "Building in England down to 1540, a documentary history," 1952, pp. 2–4; D. Knoop and G. P. Jones, "The Mediaeval Mason," 1949, *passim;* G. C. Coulton, "Art and the Reformation," 1953, chapters 2–5; and T. D. Atkinson "Local Style in English Architecture," 1947, p. 5.
[26] *V. infra.*, pp. 96–97
[27] A. H. Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 15.
[28] Quoted in L. Salzman, *op. cit.*, pp. 499–500.
[29] D. Knoop and G. P. Jones, *op. cit.*, pp. 143–4.

chief movers in church building and enlargement. Their interest is seen in their wills. Not only does everyone invariably leave a bequest to the High Altar, but frequently sums were left for general repairs or for a specific piece of building. As, apart from the religious side, the church was to some degree the centre also of his secular life, the parishioner had added reason to be interested in the building. It was this local enthusiasm which led to rivalry with neighbouring church building and provided a mutual stimulus. Such emulation gave impetus to the contemporaneous rebuildings at Dedham and Stratford St. Mary.[30] Admiration or envy of features in neighbouring churches is seen in the wills of John Beylham of Stratford, 1500, and of Robert Hawke of Dedham, 1510.[31]

Porches and Roofs and the Availability of Building Materials

The porches in the Stour valley well illustrate the types of building material available. The majority are small and chiefly of rubble or roughly coursed flint, but there are several fine examples of the larger types.

At Lavenham and Nayland are fine sixteenth-century examples in stone. Lavenham south porch is lofty and richly decorated with tracery and enriched with foliage. It has battlements at the sides and a stepped battlemented gable. The buttresses are traceried and have niches and foliage decoration. At their bases are the de Vere molets and over the outer doorway are a niche and six shields of arms of the de Veres.[32] In the spandrels are carved the de Vere boars.

The south porch at Nayland was built through the generosity of a clothier, William Abell, in 1525. It has a lighter appearance than the Lavenham example, as it has pinnacles, projecting niche canopies and corbels and a sloping gable line beneath the battlements, in contrast to the horizontal line at Lavenham. Both these porches are of one storey.

The stone for these porches and for other features was brought into the district. No good building stone is found in East Anglia. The three chief deposits are chalk, crags and clay.

East Anglia was in many ways a district cut off from the rest of England. To the south of Suffolk was the river Stour, to the south-west the hills of north-west Essex and to the north-west the Fen district. In early Anglo-Saxon times this area, bounded by the sea on the north and east, was a separate kingdom. By the early fourteenth century Essex, especially the northern part, had come to share its general economic characteristics.

Although water helped to cut off the district, it was, however, one of the chief means of communication. One half of the boundary is coast and the

[30] G. H. Rendall, in *Essex Review*, vol. 29, 1920, pp. 1–2.
[31] *V.* App., Stratford St. Mary: Will of John Beylham, 1500; and Dedham: Will of Robert Hawke, 1510.
[32] Plate IV C.

land is intersected by numerous rivers running east and some running north. The lack of very high ground makes these rivers fairly slow and therefore suitable for navigation. They were one of the means by which building stone was brought into the district.

Even so, the rivers were not so useful as would appear from a glance at a map. The Essex rivers, except for the Thames and the Crouch, are generally mere streams. Even the Stour, until 1706, was not navigable for vessels above Manningtree.[33] Therefore, although building stone could be brought considerable distances by water, its final journey must frequently have been by road and trackway. Hence it is not strange that there is a dearth of the material. There was probably, however, a fairly extensive system of roads in mediaeval East Anglia. This included some Roman roads, e.g. the Ickneild Way, and some prehistoric trackways, e.g. the Peddars Way.[34] The entrance to East Anglia from the west lay to the south of the Fen district and to the north of the hills of Essex and Suffolk. It has been called the "East Anglian Gateway."[35]

Local East Anglian stones were clunch, septaria and ironstone. Clunch, which is hard chalk, was obtained in some chalk areas. It is easily worked, but, being soft, is not suitable for external use. Septaria, a kind of clayey carbonate of lime, is a warm brown colour and is used in districts along the southern part of the Suffolk coast. It is very prominent in the churches of the area between the estuaries of the Orwell and the Stour. The lower parts of the towers of Erwarton and Harkstead are almost entirely built of it. Ironstone, a very dark, almost black, stone, was found in small deposits in various districts. Large patches of it are in the walls at Ardleigh and Langham.[36]

Stone was sometimes brought considerable distances. At Dedham limestone was imported from Caen. It was used both in the interior and for exterior dressings and flushwork designs. The main sources, however, were Northamptonshire, especially from Barnack; Rutland, especially from Ketton; Lincolnshire and Yorkshire. It was used extensively in the Marshland churches of north-west Norfolk, where flint was not frequently employed. It was also used to some extent in all the larger churches of Norfolk and Suffolk, for example, inland at Bury St. Edmunds and at many places on the coast. Generally speaking, the farther the district was from the source of supply or transport routes, the less stone was used.

Although stone was used very scantily up to about 1350 and not very lavishly in the later Middle Ages, it is, nevertheless, astonishing how much can be found in mediaeval building. Arcades and window tracery are nearly

[33] J. R. Walker, "The Suffolk Stour," 1957, p. 8.
[34] For Roman roads, *v.* V.C.H., "Norfolk," vol. 1, pp. 299–303 (includes Suffolk), and I. D. Margary, "Roman Roads in Britain," vol. 1, 1955, pp. 213–215. For ancient roads, *v.* V.C.H., "Norfolk," vol. 1, p. 274.
[35] P. M. Roxby, *op. cit.*, pp. 158, 170–1.
[36] Plate V C.

always constructed of it, and often larger features. An outstanding example of its use in the Stour valley is in the small church of Lawford, where the chancel is decorated with elaborate sculpture, the stone for which was doubtless brought up the Stour.

The building material *par excellence* of the Stour Valley, as of East Anglia generally, was flint. This is well illustrated by the numerous porches built of it in the district.

Flint came from two chief sources: a fairly good type was found in the gravel and alluvial soils of south-east Suffolk and Essex, but the best and largest flints were obtained from the chalk deposits farther north.

In Saxon, Norman and early Gothic buildings it was used merely as rubble, mixed with mortar, with individual pieces not arranged in courses. Often it was mixed with pieces of broken brick and small fragments of stone. This mixture was used for the core of walls in later times as well when the outer surface was covered with dressed flints as at East Bergholt tower.[37] By the middle of the thirteenth century flints were generally arranged in rough courses along with pieces of other material, as in the tower at Wormingford.[38] This method continued to be used in lesser buildings, as in the porches at Stoke by Clare.[39] Often, however, from about 1340 onwards, the outermost flints were split before being embedded in the wall. This gave a darker and more even effect. Gradually the technique became stiffer and the split flints were chipped into squares.

The change from the freer use to its more regular use in squared pieces is seen in the north wall at Stratford St. Mary. Margaret Mors, in her will of 1510, stated that she wished to be buried in the north aisle by her husband. Sixteen years later her son Edward made his will. He also wished to be buried there, and asked his executors to make up the north aisle like the south one.[40] In the wall can be seen the place where the new work was started. In both stretches of wall the flints are split and worked and there are flushwork inscriptions on the plinth. In the part built subsequently to 1526, however, the flints are more regularly cut and set.

The most characteristic use of later flintwork was in conjunction with stone to form flushwork designs. This development is seen in the porches at Glemsford, Ardleigh, Great Bromley and Stratford St. Mary. Glemsford is very typical. It is of one storey and has one bay with two-light windows in the east and west walls. The plinth has flushwork tracery above stone quatrefoils and there is also flushwork tracery in the battlements and over the entire walls. There are diagonal stone buttresses with pinnacles. In the south face are three niches.

[37] Plate VI C.
[38] Plate V D.
[39] Plate IV B.
[40] *V.* App., Stratford St. Mary: Wills of Margaret Mors, 1510, and Edward Mors, 1526

More fully developed are the examples at Great Bromley and Ardleigh. The south porch at Ardleigh has shafts in the jambs and animals in the spandrels and lions as stops. Although in Essex, it has seated animals on pedestals as pinnacles, a feature very common in Suffolk. Great Bromley south porch doorway has St. George and the dragon in the spandrels, and standing figures as stops. (One is missing.).[41]

The north porch at Stratford St. Mary was built in 1532 through the generosity of the Mors family and the clothier John Smith, whose initials appear on the west side. The structure encroaches on the inscription on the north aisle wall. Formerly, therefore, there was either no porch or one of smaller dimensions. There are prominent Suffolk pinnacles and a niche over the doorway. There is not, however, the profusion of flushwork as in the other examples.

Although flushwork is the most spectacular use of flint, there are several fine porches of unworked flints. Several are of mid-fifteenth century date or earlier, and illustrate the fact that flushwork did not develop till later in the century. No expense seems to have been spared in the rebuilding of Stoke by Nayland church in the middle of the century, yet the south porch is of coursed unbroken flints. It is of two bays with a two-light window in each bay. There is an upper storey and a richly moulded doorway of lofty proportions.

Two-storeyed porches are frequent in the district. Good examples are the south porch at East Bergholt, both porches at Dedham and the porch at St. Peter's, Sudbury. They are all of flint, but the three former ones are plastered. There is a small amount of flushwork in the two examples at Dedham. The south porch there is very typical, with flushwork, niches and the characteristic stops in the form of animals. The full effect of the porch, however, is marred by the plaster covering.

There are three fine examples of large porches of unworked flint, dating from the fourteenth century—Cavendish south porch and the two porches at Clare. The Cavendish example is of two bays and has a battlemented gable. The south porch at Clare also is battlemented. It has a chapel attached to its east wall, entered from the south aisle and also of fourteenth-century date. There is a crypt below. This porch was encroached upon when the south aisle was rebuilt in the fifteenth century, and only half of the northern of the two windows in its west face remains. Both this porch and the north one have similarities to the type of small porch which is frequent in the district. These small porches, as at Stansfield, are of one bay and one storey with battlemented gable, diagonal buttresses and very little ornament. This simple type of porch appears also in stone districts, the only difference being the material.

The other usual type of small porch in this district has crowstepped gables. It is of late fifteenth- or early sixteenth-century date. At Ridgewell and Little

[41] Plate IV A.

Waldingfield the gable is flattish. At Stoke by Clare is is steeper and its relation to designs in brick is more evident.[42]

Crowstepped gables of brick porches are probably of Flemish derivation. There are several good brick porches in this district, as at Bures, Stoke by Nayland, Pebmarsh, Lamarsh and Poslingford. At Stoke by Nayland, although it was built at a later date than the body of the church, the porch is somewhat dwarfed by it. It is a good sized structure with three-light windows. The Bures example is larger, and appears more so as the body of the church is not so vast. It has a good deal of brick ornament. Above the doorway are a niche and two quatrefoils. There is a square hoodmould to the doorway with a simple ornament in the spandrels. Below the gable is some crowstepped ornament in the face of the wall.[43]

Brick was used throughout the Middle Ages. Roman bricks were re-used and are often seen in the area in and around Colchester some miles south of the Stour, e.g. at All Saints', Colchester. Bricks were made and used in the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It was in the later Middle Ages, however, that they were used most extensively. Intercourse with Flanders led to a familiarity with brick architecture there. Probably most of the bricks used in East Anglia were made locally and not imported. A certain number were brought from Flanders, but records of them refer to only small numbers.[44]

Brick was used not only in porches, towers, turrets and walls, but also in more intricate features such as window tracery. This imitation of a feature more suited to stone was not successful. The mouldings are heavy as can be seen in the tower windows at Liston.

The imitation of stone mouldings and tracery is more successful in wooden porches, as in the south porch at Bures and the north porch at Boxford.

Wood was an important building material. The chief forests in East Anglia were the fairly dense oakwoods on the clays of central Norfolk and Suffolk, and the dense forest of south Essex. There were, however, many small local woods, such as that mentioned in the will of Edward Mors, clothier of Stratford St. Mary, 1557. "And touching my lands I give unto my forsaid wyf" (Juliana Mors) "my dwellyng house. . . . I give also unto her all my parte and right of the mylles of Stratforde. . . . And I will that she shall have at all times tymbre out of my woods at Boxtede and Langham for the reparation of the same mylle."[45]

Wood was used most extensively in the south, where it occurs in almost all parts of churches. At Shenfield, near Brentwood in Essex, the north arcade was constructed of it with mouldings imitating stone. In the Stour valley, apart from several fine porches, its chief use was for interior roofs.

[42] Plate IV B.
[43] Plate VI A.
[44] N. Lloyd, "A History of English Brickwork," 1923, p. 3.
[45] P.C.C., Wrastley, 51, 1557.

Most of the nave and chancel roofs are of the cambered beam type, as at Stoke by Nayland, of very flat pitch and with braces making a four-centred arch. Examples occur, however, of both less elaborate and more elaborate types.

Generally the principals, wall plates and braces of the cambered beam roofs are carved and moulded. This type of roof which was used in conjunction with flat lead exterior roofing helped towards the general lightness of the interiors of the churches. The braces sometimes spring from corbels, as at Stoke by Nayland. Often they rise from tall shafts. At Dedham, Stratford St. Mary, Lavenham and Long Melford shafts rise from the capitals and from the apices of the arches; at Clare from corbels above the capitals.

A type of arched brace roof of much steeper pitch is at Glemsford, probably of earlier date than these flat roofs, which are all after *c.* 1460.

The nave roof at East Bergholt is of the king post type and of flat pitch. There is a king post roof of steeper pitch at the small church at Boxted, Essex. An example of the scissor and collar beam roof is in the chancel at Ridgwell.

These are the less imposing types of roof. At the other end of the scale is the double hammerbeam roof of Great Bromley, the most elaborate roof in the district. It has wall plates carved with shields, angels and tracery. The lower hammberbeams are battlemented; the middle ones are crested.

Aisle roofs are of flat pitch. At Glemsford they are therefore in great contrast to the steep roof of the body of the church. Sometimes they are cambered, as at Long Melford Lady Chapel. Generally they are of the lean-to type. Frequently the principals, which are supported by braces, and the central purlin are as richly carved as those of the main roof, for example, at Stratford St. Mary.

Small roofs of porches, towers, etc., are generally of wood and most frequently of the flat beam type. Sometimes they are cambered, as at Glemsford south porch. At Kersey, a little to the north of the district, the cambered beam roof of the north porch is very sumptuously carved. The false hammerbeam roof in the north porch at Erwarton is another elaborate small roof. A delightful roof is that of the Clopton Chantry Chapel at Long Melford. It is richly carved and coloured.[46]

An opportunity for stone vaulting was sometimes found in these smaller roofs. The south porch of Stoke by Nayland has a fine two-bayed stone vault with good bosses. A smaller one is that in the thirteenth-century tower at Cavendish, where there is a foliage boss with a face in the centre. This is an early example of stone vaulting for this district. A later example is the vault of the entrance vestibule to the Clopton Chantry Chapel at Long Melford.

In the ground storey of the tower at Bures are shafts to support a vault, which was possibly never built, owing to expense. There are shafts also at East Bergholt in the passage through the tower which was never completed.

[46] Plate III D.

In the similar passage at Dedham there is an elaborate stone roof richly carved with tracery, roses, portcullises and shields with the merchant marks of clothiers who benefited the church.[47]

Many of the wooden roofs were formerly much richer, and were often coloured. Some of the original colouring remains at Great Bromley. Dowsing, writing of Clare on 6 January 1643, says "the 12 apostles were carved in wood on the top of the roof which we gave orders to take down, and 20 cherubim to be taken down."[48] The roof at Long Melford was ornamented with gilt leaden stars. The churchwardens' accounts for 1548 contain the item, "sold to Will[m] Mayerl a starr of the Roweff viiid."[49]

Before the subject of materials is left, certain other features and fittings must receive a passing reference. Very important were screens. They were most necessary where, as at Long Melford, there was no chancel arch. East Anglia shares with the west of England the possession of the finest mediaeval screens in the country.[50] In contrast to the screens of the Midlands, they are arched and not square framed, and in comparison with the south-western ones they are in some ways more imposing. In comparing such screens as that of Southwold with that of Pilton, Devon, it is evident that they were influenced by the proportions of the churches themselves. The Devon church is low and unclerestoried, and the screen is therefore less lofty than that in the clerestoried Suffolk church.

The typical East Anglian screen consists of painted panels at the base and intricate carved and cusped openings. A great deal is made of the vaulting, which is very elaborate. In the Stour valley many of the screens have been destroyed, but there are sufficient remains to indicate their past glories. Eight of the painted panels are preserved at Nayland and are now on the wall of the south aisle. Other examples are the rood screens at Cavendish and at Poslingford, and the parclose screens at Lavenham, Clare and All Saints' and St. Peter's, Sudbury.

To the abundant supply of wood are also due such fine pulpits as those at Stoke by Clare and All Saints', Sudbury, and the font cover at St. Gregory's, Sudbury.

Small structural features, such as piscinae and sedilia were generally of stone, as were also easily portable fittings like fonts. In monuments the effect of the availability or lack of the various materials is clearly shown. There are many wooden effigies, especially in Essex and south Suffolk. In our area there are fine examples at Bures, dating from about 1300, and at Little Horkesley.[51]

[47] Plate III C.
[48] W. Dowsing, *op. cit.*, under 6 January 1643.
[49] Quoted in E. L. Condor, "The Church of the Holy Trinity, Long Melford," 1887, p. 4.
[50] F. E. Howard and F. Crossley, "English Church Woodwork," 1927, pp. 229–33.
[51] Some of the wooden effigies, however, were not made locally, but in the London schools. *V.* A. C. Fryer, "Wooden Monumental Effigies in England and Wales," 1924, pp. 13 and 81–2.

The majority of English monumental brasses are in East Anglia. Their popularity was due chiefly to the lack of stone for effigies. In districts where stone was available, e.g. Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire, there are few brasses. It was due also to their proximity to the Continent, whence latten for their manufacture was obtained. In the districts far from the east coast, e.g. Cornwall, brasses are rare. In the Stour valley there are several fine brasses, including that of Alice Harleston (*c.* 1480) at Long Melford, and the fine military brass of Sir Robert de Bures, 1302, at Acton.

Towers and the Relation of the District to East Anglia as a Whole

Among the towers of the Stour valley churches are some of the most southerly of the great East Anglian ones of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Even the smaller ones, however, are very typical.

There are round towers at Pentlow and Lamarsh. This form was frequent in places where stone was not available. These two Essex ones date probably from the twelfth century. After that date stone was more easily procured from other districts, and corners for square towers could be made.

Sometimes, when stone could not be obtained, quoins were made of brick, as at Wormingford.[52] At Liston is a sixteenth-century brick tower, not as elaborate as some of the examples farther south into Essex, e.g. Ingatestone, but an illustration in our district of the use of the material.

When churches were rebuilt in the later Gothic period, towers were often reconstructed with them, but there are some important exceptions in this district. At Clare the retention of the thirteenth-century tower has led to its being dwarfed by the body of the church.[53] This is also noticeable at Glemsford, where, although the tower has been extensively rebuilt in modern times, it has retained its general size and outline. This was also the case in other important East Anglian churches, e.g. Blythburgh, where also the tower is of the thirteenth century.

The thirteenth-century tower at Cavendish, on the other hand, is massive and harmonizes with the fifteenth-century clerestoried body of the church. It is one of the earliest of the fine East Anglian towers. Built of flint rubble with stone quoins, its large diagonal buttresses die off in the middle of the top stage, while the staircase turret at the south-east rises well above the battlements which are of later date. The ground storey is vaulted, a rare occurrence in these stoneless districts, especially at this date. Unlike later examples this tower has no west door.

The fourteenth-century towers of the district do not continue the fine tradition of Cavendish. The lower part of the tower at Nayland is unbuttressed and insignificant. (The upper part is of nineteenth century date.) The tower of Bures is low and squat with rather meagre buttresses dying off in the

[52] Plate V D.
[53] Plate V A.

middle storey. The fourteenth-century tower of Stoke by Clare, again, is small in proportion to the early sixteenth-century body of the church.

The finest towers are of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, Dedham and Great Bromley in Essex, East Bergholt (which was never finished)[54] and Lavenham in Suffolk. The Sudbury ones and Stoke by Nayland, however, must be considered first. All three towers at Sudbury were built, probably in the third quarter of the fifteenth century, of flint, brick, and stone rubble, with dressings of stone. They lack the elaborate flushwork and decoration of the later towers. There are several similarities between them. The projecting stair turrets of All Saints' and St. Gregory's are not unlike. All three towers have the typical fifteenth-century Suffolk elevation: at the west a large door with an imposing window above, a small window in the ringers' floor and a large one in the bell storey. The battlements at St. Peter's and All Saints' bear tall figures of animals as pinnacles. This use of men or animals occurs on many East Anglian towers, e.g. Framlingham. The system of right angular buttresses at St. Peter's and All Saints' is another similarity between the towers.

The important tower at Stoke by Nayland is in a class by itself.[55] Built in the middle of the fifteenth century, it is a lofty and massive structure, constructed of flint and brick and with much stone in the base and corners. Not only are there octagonal buttresses, which would be usual as seen later at Dedham and East Bergholt, but these in turn have diagonal ones projecting from them.

From bequests made to it in wills it is evident that the tower at Dedham was begun about 1494 and finished soon after 1510.[56] Its octagonal buttresses and elaborate flint flushwork, combined with its peculiarity in having the processional pathway passing through from north to south, make it probable that it influenced the neighbouring East Bergholt, where the tower was started in the early sixteenth century.[57]

The tower at Dedham is related in style to that at Great St. Mary's, Cambridge, and the lower part of that at Soham, Cambridgeshire. Probably they were all designed by John Wastell, the designer of the central tower of Canterbury Cathedral.[58] Dedham tower has fine flushwork designs on it, including the crowned "M" on its plinth. The church's dedication is to St. Mary.[59]

The most southerly "Suffolk" tower occurs at Great Bromley,[60] a church which, though some distance south into Essex, has many similarities to other Stour valley churches and to Suffolk churches in general. The tower has the typical western elevation with a fine doorway with an angel as a stop on one

[54] Plates III B, VI B and VI C.
[55] Plate V B.
[56] *V.* App., Dedham wills.
[57] *V.* App., East Bergholt: Will of Richard Bramston, 1513.
[58] *V.* A. Oswald on John Wastell in J. Harvey, "English Mediaeval Architects," 1954.
[59] Plate VI D.
[60] Plate III B.

side and an animal on the other. In the wide mouldings are paterae. The tower is not related to anything in the immediate neighbourhood, even the tower at Ardleigh, where the porch is of the Suffolk type, being dissimilar.

The tower at Lavenham may have been designed by Simon Clerk, who had been master mason at Eton College and at King's College Chapel, Cambridge.[61] It is typical of the finest Suffolk work. There were many bequests to it between the years 1486 and 1523.[62] The ceasing of bequests between 1494 and 1517–8 is noticeable. In the latter year Robert Sexten endeavoured to speed things up by leaving £40 to the steeple if it were continued within two years of his death. He died the same year, but the work was probably not begun immediately, as Thomas Stansby, who made several substantial gifts to the church, made no bequest to it in his will of 1518. It was probably continued by at least 1520, when Agnes Sexten left £40 to it. Its completion was due to the generosity of Thomas Spring.

A peculiarity which Lavenham shares with some other Suffolk churches, e.g. Southwold and Beccles, is the unfinished appearance of its summit, which has a flat parapet without pinnacles or battlements. It has been said that this type of tower was probably intended to be capped by a spire and was left unfinished.[63] If a spire had been added, however, to the already lofty tower, it would have been out of harmony with the body of the church. Probably these towers seem unfinished only when compared with ones with some other summit. A similar outline is not unusual in smaller churches, for instance, at Fingringhoe, farther south in Essex.

The general East Anglian lack of spires is very apparent in this district, but at Polstead there is not only a spire, but it is of stone, which is very exceptional. At Hadleigh, slightly to the north of the district, is a wood structure covered with lead, but there are none of the wood shingled spires which are found in central and south Essex. There was formerly a spire at Nayland.

Mouldings and Similarities Between the Churches

From this discussion of their towers it is evident that the churches of the Stour valley take their place among those of the wider district of East Anglia in general, with similarities of material and design. It is now intended to investigate whether the churches had any closer connection with one another. For this purpose their mouldings have been studied.

It is possible to work out the development of capitals, piers, bases, and arch-moulds from the fourteenth century to the sixteenth century. Although one type may be a development of another type, it is not possible in most cases, however, to say that they are related in the sense that they were carved by the same masons or designed by the same craftsman.

[61] *V.* A. Oswald on Simon Clerk in J. Harvey, *op. cit.*
[62] *V.* App., Lavenham wills.
[63] F. J. Allen, "The Great Church Towers of England," 1932, pp. 178, 188–190.

In some instances, however, the similarities are so noticeable that such a relationship may be suggested.

Of fourteenth-century capitals it is striking that those of the south arcade of Glemsford and those of the north arcade of Bures both omit the roll above

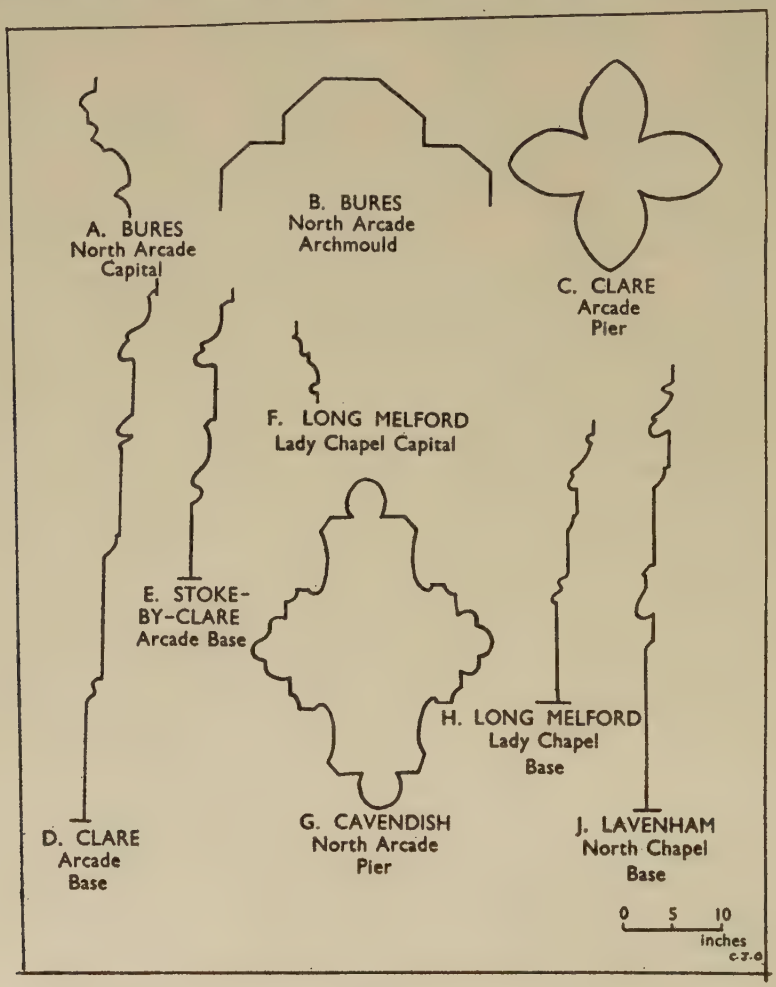


FIG. 4

the vertical fillet, a feature which generally occurs in this type of capital, e.g. in the nave at Holbrook and in Erwarton chancel arch. The piers at Glemsford and Bures also are similar, being octagonal with the sides measuring nine inches. The archmoulds also are alike, being simple with two chamfered orders. The bases, however, do not resemble each other.[64]

[64] Fig. 4, A and B.

The piers at Clare are interesting. The nave was rebuilt at the end of the fifteenth century. It has been stated that the piers are re-used thirteenth-century ones.[65] This would account for the exceptional height of the bases, built to make the arcade of the required height. The piers are on a square plan with four interpenetrating shafts of pointed lobe form.[66]

The early sixteenth-century arcades at the neighbouring Stoke by Clare have similar piers. Other similar ones at Little Waldingfield are also of late Perpendicular date. Another similarity between these three arcades is that they all have battlemented capitals. At Clare and Little Waldingfield there are crocketted canopies above the arches. Clare and Stoke by Clare have similarities in their bases, although the exceptional height of those at Clare makes them appear very different.[67] It seems possible that Stoke by Clare and Little Waldingfield were copied from Clare.

Other similarities include those between the piers of Dedham nave and the slightly later ones at East Bergholt. These are neighbouring churches and likenesses between their towers have already been noted.

At Cavendish nave, Long Melford Lady Chapel and the north chapel at Lavenham the piers are alike. They also have similar profiles to their capitals and bases.[68] Lavenham north chapel dates from *c.* 1500 and Long Melford Lady Chapel was finished in 1494,[69] and Cavendish south aisle dates from *c.* 1471.[70]

Before leaving the subject of piers it is interesting to note that those at St. Gregory, Sudbury, reflect the foundation of a college of priests there by Simon of Sudbury in the fourteenth century. Probably the church was previously aisleless, and on the foundation of the college it was enlarged by the addition of a north aisle. The piers are massive for this date. Part of the existing wall was incorporated in building this arcade. This is a usual occurrence in all districts at an earlier date. Its appearance at this date at St. Gregory's was probably due to the scarcity of stone. When the south aisle was added in the fifteenth century the piers on this side were probably made of the same type to be in harmony. The bases are not similar.

There appears to be no definite local school of architecture in the Stour valley. Taking the district as a whole and including both the smaller and larger churches, it is, as might be expected, a border region between the classic area of East Anglian architecture of Norfolk and Suffolk, and the more homely type of Essex.

[65] *V.* Sir William St. John Hope, *op. cit.*
[66] Fig. 4 C.
[67] Fig. 4 D and E.
[68] Fig. 4 F, G, H and J.
[69] *V.* App., Long Melford: Will of John Clopton, 1495.
[70] *V.* App., Cavendish: Will of Richard Cagge, 1471.

Some of the churches, however, besides having the general East Anglian characteristics, have some very evident similarities to one another. There are likenesses between the neighbouring churches of Dedham and Stratford, Dedham and East Bergholt, and Clare and Stoke by Clare. Clare church is also definitely related to that at Little Waldingfield. Further, the ornamental work in the nave of Great Waldingfield may have been copied from Little Waldingfield, although it is of somewhat different type, the carving being less profuse and rich. There are also similarities between Cavendish, Long Melford and Lavenham, between All Saints' and St. Peter's, Sudbury, and between Glemsford and Bures. Except for the last-named pair and Clare and the Waldingfields, the churches in these groups are in close proximity. Probably there was direct copying.

Of the important churches of the district, four are outstanding. The magnificence of Long Melford and Lavenham was due chiefly to the generosity of rich clothiers. Stoke by Nayland, which is earlier in date, is an exceptional church in the richness of its ornament and details. Clare is almost as large and splendid.

Great Bromley Church is perhaps the most representative in the district.[71] Although some distance south of the river, it has externally all the outstanding features of a typical East Anglian church, yet the interior is of a less imposing type, and, except for the magnificent double hammerbeam roof of the nave, might belong to a church farther south in Essex.

CORA J. OUGH

APPENDIX

SOME WILLS MENTIONING CHURCH BUILDINGS

These are taken from only a small selection of the wills mentioning church buildings in the Stour valley towns and villages. The first date given is that of the drawing-up of the will, and the second, that of the probate.

BURES

Alice Reysbury. 1481–2. 1482. She left a cow to be disposed of to provide a lamp before the image of the Blessed Mary in the principal chancel.

Sud. A.C., iii, 286.

John Hulke. 1513. 1513. To be buried in the new aisle of the church. "Also I will that my land in Wast Dolyn that it be delyvid unto the chauntry in Bewres at the feast of Saint Michell tharchangell next ensuying after my dethe." The priest of the chantry to say mass for his soul every Friday and every Saturday, the priest to say it in the Chapel of Our Lady in the Churchyard.

P.C.C., Fetiplace, 17.

CAVENDISH

Richard Cagge. 1471. 1471. 5 marks towards building the south aisle. 24s. 8d. to repairing the stone wall round the cemetery.

Sud. A.C., ii, 494.

William Olyve. 1499. 1501–2. To be buried in Cavendish Church in the aisle of St. James next his father's grave.

Sud A.C., v, 125.

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[71] Plates III B and IV A.

CLARE

Mariona Potter. 1459. 1459. 6s. 8d. to a glazed window in "le chyrche story" in Clare Church.
Sud. A.C., ii, 242.

John Horold. 1478. 1478. Left money towards building a new roodloft according to the pattern the churchwardens order.
P.C.C., Wattys, 35.

Walter Qwhygth. 1478. 1478. 2s. 6d. to the fabric of the new chancel.
Sud. A.C., iii, 154.

Edmund Hoberd. 1487. 1488. 10s. to roofing the vestry.
Sud. A.C., iii, 425.

DEDHAM

John Smerte, citizen and grocer of London. 1494. 1494–5. £20 to building the steeple of Dedham where he was born.
P.C.C., Vox, 21.

Richard Harre. 1504. 1505. 20 marks sterling to the steeple.
P.C.C., Holgrave, 15.

Thomas Webbe. 1505–6. 1505–6. 40s. to the steeple.
P.C.C., Adeane, 5.

Robert Hawke. 1510. 1510. £20 towards finishing the steeple, to be paid in two years. A sepulchre to be made after the pattern of Stoke in carving and painting.
P.C.C., Holder, 35.

EAST BERGHOLT

Robert Hogge. 1442–3. 1443. He wished to be buried in the new aisle in East Bergholt church opposite to the window with the story of the seven sacraments.
N.C.C., Doke, 217.

Robert Forete. 1455. *Date of probate defaced.* 3s. 4d. to the altar of St. John.
Suf. A.C., i, 205.

Robert Myller. 1487. 1487. To be buried in the choir of St. John the Baptist in the Church of the Blessed Mary in East Bergholt.
Suf. A.C., iii, 43.

Richard Bramston. 1513. 1513–4. 20s. to the steeple.
Suf. A.C., vi, 141.

Robert Rignold the Elder. 1534. 1539. "I will that my son George Regnold shall do glaze all the wyndows in the nether storye of the north syde the cherch of Estbergholt at my cost and charge."
Suf. A.C., x, 67.

GLEMSFORD

Richard Roote. 1474. 1475. A bequest towards making the first two clerestory windows on the north side according to the design of the first one newly made in that wall.
Sud. A.C., iii, 114.

John Wyllingham. 1476. 1476–7. 5 marks to the fabric of the church if the churchwardens do not hinder his executors in building a new hall for the Gild in Glemsford. If they do hinder them, the 5 marks to be spent in other ways for the good of his soul.
Sud. A.C., iii, 58.

Joan Ward. 1520. 1521. To be buried in the Chapel of Our Lady on the north part of the steeple in Glemsford. 6s. 8d. to the maintenance of the said chapel.
N.C.C., xxxiii, 138.
and Sud. A.C., x, 79.

LAVENHAM

Thomas Spring. 1486. 1486. 300 marks towards building the tower.
P.C.C., Logge, 25.

Alen Sexten. 1487. 1487–8. £40 to the making of the steeple.
P.C.C., Milles, 7.

James Spring. 1493. 1493. To be buried in the vestry. £40 towards making the steeple.
P.C.C., Vox, 4.

John Baxter. 1494. 1494–5. 4 marks to the building of the steeple, to be paid within two years after his decease.
Sud. A.C., v, 24.

Robert Sexten the Elder. 1517–8. 1517–8. £40 to the steeple if work were begun on it within two years of his death. Otherwise the £40 to be used in other good deeds in the church at the discretion of his executors.

P.C.C., Ayloffe, 6.

Agnes Sexten, widow of Robert Sexten. 1520. 1520. £40 from debts due from merchants of the Steelyard to go to building the steeple.

P.C., Ayloffe, 31.

Miles Wytton. 1520. 1520–1. 20s. towards building the steeple. Also if his children died, some of the bequests to them to be spent "in deeds of charity in Lavenham Church where most need is."

P.C.C., Mainwaryng.

Simon Clogge, Clothmaker. 1523. 1523. £20 to the steeple, 40s. to Our Lady's Gild and its maintenance.

P.C.C., Bodfelde, 9.

Thomas Spring. 1523. 1523. To be buried before the altar of St. Katherine. A tomb with a parclose to be made. £200 to finishing the steeple.

P.C.C., Bodfelde, 11.

LONG MELFORD

Walter Cobbe. 1439. 1439–40. 3s. 4d. to the maintenance and repair of the Lady Chapel.

Sud. A.C., ii, 14.

John Waryn, Senior, Fuller. 1448. 1451. 3s. 4d. to repairing the bells. 40s. to repairing the Lady Chapel.

Sud. A.C., ii, 106.

Robert Sparow. 1468–9. 1470. £10 to the new building. 13s. 4d. to repairing the Lady Chapel in the churchyard near the church.

Sud. A.C., ii, 576.

Isabella, wife of John Grome. 1471. 1471. 6s. 8d. to church repairs. 12d. to the chapel of St. Mary in the cemetery of the church.

Sud. A.C., ii, 557.

John Pye. 1487. 1487. 10 marks to repairing the south aisle if the town or any well disposed person make up the residue of that aisle. Otherwise the 10 marks to go to making a Tabernacle under the Roodloft, up by the post on the south side.

P.C.C., Milles, 4.

John Clopton. 1495. 1497. To be buried in the "litell chapel" in Melford church where the grave is ready by his wife. 100 marks to "garnishing of Our Lady Chapel and the cloister thereabout that John Clopton hath done new made in Melford churchyard."

P.C.C., Horne, 17.

Richard Martyn. 1500. 1500. To be buried by his wife in the south aisle which he had made for himself and his wife and children to lie in.

P.C.C., Moone, 4.

Geoffrey Foote, Clothmaker. 1512. 1514. To be buried in the churchyard by the new vestry he had made. A bequest for a yearly donation to church repairs.

P.C.C., Fetiplace, 34.

NAYLAND

Robert Roos. 1435. 1438. To be buried in the church before the door leading into St. Thomas's Chapel, for the expenses of which burial 13s. 4d. to be given to the nave. £13 6s. 8d. to the nave for repairs, where most necessary.

P.C.C., Dyngeley, 16.

John Wareyn. 1441. 1441. To church repairs, to the fabric of a new vestry and to other necessary uses, 20 marks. 6s. 8d. to the Gild of the Trinity.

Sud. A.C., ii, 20.

John Ringbell. 1492. 1492–3. To be buried on the south side in the new aisle.

P.C.C., Doggett, 11.

Rose Lightsterk. 1503–4. 1504. £5 to the ceiling over the sacrament in the chancel.

P.C.C., Holgrave, 17.

Richard Peggott. 1528. 1529. To be buried in the church before the Lady Chapel door. £20 towards the leading of the church.

P.C.C., Jankyn, 5.

STOKE BY CLARE

John Dyke. 1475. 1477. £20 to making a new roodloft.

Sud. A.C., iii, 60.

Thomas Waltham, Freemason. 1498. 1498. 20s. to the church, of which 6s. 8d. to go to the making of the new pulpit.

P.C.C., Horne, 28.

STOKE BY NAYLAND

John Crystemesse. 1439. 1439. £5 to building the steeple.
Sud. A.C., ii, 5.

Robert Simon, Vicar of Stoke by Nayland. 1440. 1440. 40s. to the new steeple.
N.C.C., Doke, 122.

John Frythe. 1462. 1462. 12d. towards building the steeple.
Sud. A.C., ii, 334.

John Joye. 1476. 1476. 6s. 8d. towards painting the Roodloft.
Sud. A.C., iii, 61.

STRATFORD ST. MARY

William Clerk. 1458. 1458. 18s. towards an aisle. If a new aisle is made, 20s.
Suf. A.C., ii, 3.

John Smith. 1467–8. 1468. 35 marks towards making an aisle. 20s. towards the making of the church wall by the highway side. A window with a picture of him and his wife in it to be made near the altar in the aisle.
P.C.C., Godyn, 25.

John Beylham. 1500. *No.p.* His tenement in Stoke called "Wymarkes" with its appurtances to be sold to find a taper to burn before the sepulchre at Eastertime and the balance to go to charities. A bequest towards making and painting "of a new crucifix upon the Candlebeme and the archangels after Dedham." Also a bequest towards painting the Candlebeam. 6s. 8d. to church repairs.
P.C.C., Moone, 13.

Margaret Mors, widow. 1510. 1510. To be buried in the north aisle by her husband. 40s. towards making the porch. Her son, Edward, to make the window at the Trinity Altar as he thought best.
P.C.C., Bennett, 35.

John Norcott. 1523. 1523. 3s. 4d. to the building of the porch of Our Lady.
Suf. A.C., ix, 6.

Edward Mors. 1526. 1526. To be buried in the north aisle by his father. His executors to make up the north aisle in form and manner as the other aisle on the south side.
P.C.C., Porch, 14.

ALL SAINTS', SUDBURY

Thomas Shorthose. 1459. 1459–60. 20s. towards building the north aisle and 20 marks towards making new seats in it, like the seats in the south part of the same church.
Sud. A.C., ii, 235.

Joan Dennys. 1465. 1465. 20s. towards building the arch between the church and the chapel of the north side.
Sud. A.C., ii, 389.

John Felton, alias Chapman. 1487. 1487. Bequest to his chantry in All Saints' of a book and a silver chalice.
P.C.C., Milles, 4.

John Archer the Elder. 1490. 1492. To be buried in the chapel of Our Lady in All Saints' Church.
P.C.C., Doggett, 14.

Robert Broke. 1491. 1491–2. To be buried in the Chapel of St. Katherine. 6s. 8d. to repairing the church where most necessary.
P.C.C., Doggett, 29.

Maud Parterich. 1494–5. *No.p.* To be buried in the Jesus Chapel.
P.C.C., Vox, 23.

Joan Archard. 1502. 1502. To be buried in the Chapel of Our Lady in All Saints' Church.
P.C.C., Blamyr, 21.

Bennett Molens. 1526–7. *No.p.* Provision made for a lamp to be kept burning before the Rood in the little Chapel.
Sud. A.C., xi, 203.

ST. PETER'S, SUDBURY

William Lovinge. 1503. 1509. "Item I will that myn hous with thappurtenances therto longynge in Sudbury lyeing a genis the channcell of Seint Peter ther be sowld be myn executors to performe . . . the legacies in this my testament."
N.C.C., xxviii, 229.

William Wareyn, called Baker. 1506. 1506–7. Provision for a taper to burn before the Rood in the Jesus Chapel in St. Peter's Church, and another in Our Lady's Chapel.
P.C.C., Adeane, 12.

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THE ELIZABETHAN SERFS OF LONG BENNINGTON, LINCOLNSHIRE

The vast majority of the people who cultivated the land of England in the Middle Ages were villeins or cottars, that is, serfs or "bondmen." The villein had a "virgate" or family holding—traditionally thirty acres of arable land with a share in the meadow and certain rights of pasture for animals in the waste lands round the village, and also rights connected with fuel there (dead wood, gorse, turf or peat). The acreage of land and the rights of common no doubt varied considerably in different times and different places, but the main thing is that collectively they provided sufficient of the necessities of life to maintain a family. In return for this, the villein had to perform various labour services —week-work, usually three days' work each week on the lord's demesne, plus boon-work, extra services at different times in the year—and he also had to make payments in kind and in money on certain occasions. He could not live away from the manor without his lord's consent, and he was subject to the lord's local court, except for the most serious offences. The cottar is believed to have held only five acres, often fewer. His services and payments to the lord were similar to those of the villein, but proportionately less. His holding was not large enough to support his family, so his income must have been to a considerable extent derived from paid labour of one kind or another.

The basic factor in the conditions of these serfs, however, was not how they gained their livelihood, nor what duties they had to perform, but their status. This was both legal and inherited. The law insisted that if one's father was a serf, one was also a serf and so were one's children, and one's children's children, to the end of time. There was no escape, except by a grant of manumission from the lord for which a heavy payment was usually demanded, but this not only made a man free, but also all his descendants, born and unborn.

The fact that the bondman was legally entitled to *buy* his freedom is important because it proves that there was a fundamental distinction between his position and that of the slave—in spite of the attempts of lawyers to equate the two more nearly by insisting that the lord had the right to seize any property acquired by the serf. This amounted to an attempt to carry the dead hand of Roman legal theory across the centuries to debase the status of the English peasant. Opposed to this view was the English principle of the "Custom of the Manor." Increasingly during the Middle Ages it came to be accepted that what had been done in the known past was enforceable in the present, but an innovation was not. This "Custom of the Manor" gave each manor a distinct individuality, differing in some degree from every other. While

this must have perpetuated existing servile conditions, it would have protected the peasantry from arbitrary exaction by the lord.

As the mediaeval centuries succeeded each other the legal status of the serf remained unchanged, but his economic obligations became considerably modified. To an ever greater extent money payments took the place of labour services. All modern research has tended to push the beginnings of this change farther and farther back in time, to the twelfth century at least. Assuming an adequate supply of alternative labour, it was probably a much better proposition for the lord to accept money payments from his tenants, and to use the money to employ labour—which could be dismissed if unsatisfactory—than to have his acres cultivated by the work of unwilling people carrying out enforced services.

The following extract relating to Sleaford is part of a survey of the manors of the Bishop of Lincoln dated about 1258. It enumerates the obligations of a serf and would seem to imply that the bondman could make payments in money in lieu of labour services and payments in kind, but this assumption may not be correct.

> "Peter of Haldyngham holds two bovates of land for 4s., 2 fowls, 20 eggs and one quartern of oats. He has to plough for 2 days or pay 4d., and harrow for one day or pay ½d. and he has to harrow one acre of wheat or pay 3d. and he has to do 3 services with horse and cart to the nearest manors or pay 4½d. and he has to carry corn for one day and hay for another day or pay 3d. The same man has to carry one kerf of turves or pay 1d., mow for 1 day or pay 1d., and work in autumn for 20 days or pay 10d. and if he works all day he has his food. The same man has to reap an acre of wheat or pay 3d. and he has to issue distraints and summonses like Walter of Milnethorpe."[1]

Even in earlier days, when labour services were fully enforced, it is assumed that the villein would be allowed to pay another man to carry out his work on the lord's demesne—either because of sickness, or because the serf preferred to cultivate his own holding himself. After all, the lord's steward was mainly concerned to see that the work on the demesne was properly performed. In these circumstances it cannot have mattered much to either party whether the villein paid a man to carry out his duties or paid money to the steward who himself hired a man. If money payments continued as the normal procedure over several generations that system would, with the passing of time, harden into recognized custom having legal authority.

[1] Petrus de Haldyngham tenet ij. bouatas terre per iiij. s. ij. gallinas. xx. oua et j. quartam auene. Idem debet per ij. dies arare uel dare iiij. d. et herciare per unum diem uel dare j. ob. et debet herciare j. wheteacram uel dare iij. d. et debet facere tria aueragia ad propinquiora maneria uel dare iiij. d. et ob. et debet cariare per j. diem bladum et per j. alium diem fenum uel dare iij. d. Idem debet cariare i. kirfam turbarum uel dare j. d. et falcare per. j. diem uel dare j. d. et operari in autumpno per xx. dies uel dare x. d. et si operat per totum diem habebit cibum suum. Idem debet metere unam wheateacram uel dare iij. d. et debet facere districtiones et summoniciones sicut Walterus de Milnethorp.

In manors where labour services had completely ceased and the serfs had become either tenants paying a money rent, or else wage-earners, it was still much to the lord's advantage to see that servile status was not forgotten, especially in the case of the energetic and successful bondman. Various fines could still be extracted and, above all, more substantial sums could be obtained as manumission money from those serfs who had acquired sufficient property. Villeins bought their freedom and became tenant farmers in their existing holdings, often with a lease. Some, in time, if not immediately, bought the land they cultivated and became freeholding yeomen. When, however, the bondman was propertyless, with no money for manumission or anything else, his servile status ceased to have much economic significance, and in thousands of cases must, indeed, eventually have been forgotten. On the other hand, the son, or grandson, of the poorest serf might acquire wealth, and the last stages of serfdom in England (in the sixteenth century) were represented by the efforts of the heirs of lords to get large sums from prosperous descendants of their ancestors' unmanumitted bondmen.

On certain royal manors, either as the result of policy or of inattention, manumission had not been carried out. This gave Elizabeth I the opportunity of rewarding a courtier with no expense to herself. What appears to have been the last large-scale reference to serfdom in this country is a report, presented in 1570, by a jury of eighteen men who were empanelled to enquire into the existence of serfdom in connexion with the royal (Duchy of Lancaster) manor of Long Bennington[2] in Lincolnshire—the Queen having given a certain Sir Henry Lee the privilege of receiving, and enforcing the payment of, manumission money from the descendants of serfs attached to that manor. This report is a most interesting document in a great many ways: it shows where these people lived, the contrasts in their financial positions, and the proportions of their property that they had to surrender as the price of their freedom.

The report of the jury is now in the Public Record Office.[3] It begins by giving the names of the jurymen, then adds particulars of certain persons of servile descent, e.g.:

> "That Rob't Gilbarte late of Westborough in the countie of Lincolne was a bondman of bludd and was Regardant into Longbenington Lordship and deceased at Westboroughe aforesaid."

Then follows a much fuller list of people, together with a record of the value of their goods and the names of their children. In a number of cases

[2] Long Bennington is between Grantham and Newark. The present village stretches for more than a mile along the Great North Road.

[3] Duchy of Lancaster Miscellanea (Dn. 41) Bdle. 13, No. 19 ff., 1–11. The transcription on which this article was based was made by Miss F. E. Thurlby, of the Foster Library, Lincoln.

it is also stated what the persons named "may pay" for manumission. The following is an example:

"John Harvey of Foston.	The value of the goods of the same John praysed by dyuers of the Jury as appeareth by Inventory.	.xix.*li.* .xij.*s.* .iiij.*d.*	Who hathe Issue Rob't and John his sonnes and Margret and Alice his daughters. This man for him & his sons & sequel .vij. *li.*

This section concludes with the following striking postscript:

> "The said Jurors do most humbly supply vnto this honorable Courte to gyve vnto them further tyme to make their perfect certifficat vnto this Courte concerning the severall Inventoryes of dyuers bondmen dwelling without the said Lordship of Longbenington because that gods visitacion of plage is amongst them in dyuers of the townes where the same bondmen doth inhabite and dwell so that they are not hable at this presente but with great Daunger to enter into those townes so visited to performe their duety in this Certificate."

This is succeeded by a section containing extracts from the court rolls of Long Bennington having reference to the families named in the list, and this by a short section containing further names and particulars.

The commission describes fifty-three persons, in all, as bondmen of "bloud" —excluding children and others referred to as "issue." These fifty-three persons were living at the following places at the time that the investigation was made, or had died there, presumably recently. It should be noted that Foston is an adjoining village and appears to have been part of the manor of Long Bennington.

Lincolnshire

	No. of persons	*No. of Miles by Road from Long Bennington*
Foston	18	–
Long Bennington	11	–
Marston	5	5
Doddington	3	3
Allington	1	4
Claypole	1	4
Great Gonerby	1	6
Syston	1	7
Westborough	1	2

Nottinghamshire

One each at Balderton, Calverton, Cropwell, Elton, Epperton, Farnton (i.e. Epperstone and Farndon), and Orston.

Norfolk

Two (exact location not stated).

Northamptonshire

One at Grafton Underwood.

Middlesex

One at Enfield.

The Nottinghamshire villages mentioned are all on the east side of the county, most of them not more than a dozen miles from Long Bennington. It will be noticed that none of the bondmen has gone to live in a town.

The occupations are given in only six cases: three of these are clergy; the others are a husbandman, a ploughman and "in servis." Five of the fifty-three are described as "cotiers" or "cotigers." There are five widows: four of them are described as "free women." In twenty-three cases the persons mentioned are stated to occupy land: normally they would be husbandmen of some sort, but it is just possible that in one or more instances they followed some other occuptation and the land was for them an investment. The land is always described as (*a*) "messes" (i.e. messuages), sometimes with the acreage given, and (*b*) other land recorded in oxgangs.

This brings me to the principal intention of the enquiry, the assessment of the value of the property of these bondmen, and the amount that they might be expected to pay for their freedom. The main body of the report contains an assessment of the goods and chattels of the persons referred to in it, but the following extract suggests that the value of land occupied was not included:

> "Md. that Robert Goodbarne of Marston in the County of Lincoln bondman is seised of one mese; 1 oxgang of land Customary. Nevertheless he hathe no goods at all," and above the entry is written "dead with owt issue and dyed not worth a peny."

The land appears, however, to have been taken into account, for above the particulars of one man is written "Wel londed 42 acr. arable & .ij. meses," apparently to justify a high assessment.

Assessment figures are given for thirty-four people, out of the fifty-three mentioned somewhere or other in the document as being serfs. Of the remainder, in some cases information was not available, as in the instance of the man who died as far away as "Endfield in the Countye of Midd. (as we suppose)" of whom the jury says "What lands or goods he hadd at the daie of his decease we knowe not." In others, although some information is given, no final figures are stated. The remainder were presumably too poor to be worth assessing.

The following extract shows that considerable trouble was taken to arrive at a true estimate and that a man's unsupported word was not always accepted.

> "Steven Benbrig' of Farneton the com' of Nott' . . . sayethe he is lettell woorth & so saieth the neybores yett he wold gyue fyue poundes besides soche fees as (? Sir) Henry Leae or his assynes shall thinke meet for his manumission."

It is a pity that the full inventories have not survived: with the exception of two cases, only the totals are given. One of the exceptions is that of Thomas Goodbarne of Cropwell, Nottinghamshire, who is stated to have:

		£	s.	d.
6 acres Barley	value	4	0	0
2 » Wheat	»	1	10	0
1 » Rye	»		13	4
5 Beast	»	6	0	0
5 Mares	»	5	0	0
20 Ewes	»	2	0	0
Lambs	»		10	0
4 Small Swine	»		13	4

"He hath a cottage of one Mr. John Leke wch. payeth rent yerly .xx.s. (i.e. value) '.xl.s.' The total value of this man's goods is stated to be £22 6s. 8d."

The instances where final figures are given for goods and chattels work out as follows:

Number of Persons	*Amounts in Pounds*
1	199
1	141
1	89
1	64
2	between 50 and 59
2	» 40 » 49
3	» 30 » 39
5	» 20 » 29
9	» 10 » 19
7	» 1 » 10

There is also one instance where the value is given as twelve shillings.

When the change in the value of money is taken into account the first three or four must be counted as well-to-do men. On the other hand, of the twenty mentioned in the document but not included in the above list, six are described as "paupers" and four as "very poor men."[1] For the remaining ten no definite figures are given.

The amounts assessed for manumission must now be considered and their relationship to the estimated value of the goods and chattels of the persons concerned. In many cases there is no entry regarding the amount demanded

for enfranchisement, or the other particulars given are incomplete. Excluding all these, the following results are obtained:

Name	*Value of Goods* £	s.	d.		*Price of Manumission* £	s.	d.	
Gilbarte, Robert	199	3	6	To pay	66	13	4	
Gilbart, Thomas	141	1	4	To pay	60	0	0	
Baynbrige, Richard	89	17	4	Would give	30	0	0	& fees
Harvye, Robert	54	17	8	May pay	16	0	0	
Gilbert, Michaell	52	15	8	(offered £16, he may well pay)	26	13	4	
Goodbarne, John	44	19	0	may pay	15	0	0	inc. fees
Harvye, Thomas	42	6	8	may pay	13	0	0	
Costell, John	36	3	0	may pay	13	6	8	
Isack, Richard	35	14	4	may pay	26	13	4	
Hoys, John	25	4	4	would give	10	0	0	inc. fees
Harvy, John	19	12	4	may pay	7	0	0	
Baynbrig, Thomas	19	7	0	may pay	7	0	0	
Harvy, Joane	18	6	8	may pay	6	0	0	
Holland, Mighell,	17	16	8	may pay	6	0	0	
Baynbrig, Ric.	11	2	8	may pay	3	6	0	& fees
Hoys, William	7	0	4	offered	3	0	0	

There is no evidence as to the amounts actually paid for manumission, so that the sums mentioned under "Price of Manumission" cannot be taken as final: they are more likely to be understatements than the reverse.

Alexander Savine states: "The very amount of these exactions for enfranchisement was settled in the middle of the sixteenth century, at least in the practice of the Augmentation Office. The payment was very considerable. The bondmen manumitted must pay 'for the Great Seal' *a third part* of their lands and goods."[4] It will be seen by the above table, however, that the bondmen were generally called upon to pay more than a third, even more than half of the declared value of their property. It is probable that many of these people, like peasants the world over, had a little undeclared silver hidden away—under the hearthstone or elsewhere—nevertheless, the price of freedom must have been a very heavy one.

How far was enfranchisement compulsory? Certain entries in the document suggest that it was not: "This woman wold pay nothyng," and the last item of all, which reads:

> "One Thomas Benbrigg Clarke reffuseth to be manumitted onless he may skape so good chep as his brother who was manumised."

Nevertheless, manumission, and the payment for it, had been made compulsory by Elizabeth's grant to Sir Henry Lee, and the only persons to escape were those who were too poor to be bothered about.

[4] "Bondmen under the Tudors" in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, New Series, vol. XVII, 1903, p. 270.

All this enquiry was made, of course, in anticipation of the grant of the manumission money to Sir Henry Lee. This grant was made five years later and is described by Savine as follows:

> "On January 7, 17 Elizabeth, the Queen addressed an open letter to Sir H. Lee. She recites that many bondmen belonging to the Duchy of Lancaster applied to her for manumission. Lee is invested with the right to make a search for all bondmen in the duchy manors and to manumit 200 of them. He will agree with every single bondman about the fine for manumission. The enfranchisement and the corresponding payment are compulsory. None of the 200 bondmen chosen by Lee can refuse to be enfranchised or to buy his freedom at the price fixed by the royal patentee. If anybody declines to enter into an agreement Lee can seize his lands. Besides he can seize all lands alienated by bondmen since 10 Elizabeth. Upon every agreement Lee shall address a petition to the Chancellor of the Duchy, who will prepare the charter of enfranchisement."[5]

These charters normally contained the following preamble:

> "Whereas from the beginning God created all men free by nature, and afterwards the law of man placed some under the yoke of servitude, we believe it to be a pious thing, and acceptable to God and consonant with Christian charity, to make wholly free certain who have been thrown into villianage to us and our successors and bound in servitude."[6]

Hypocrisy indeed, considering that the whole object of the transaction was the extortion of money! The other side of the picture is that the bondmen were not paying money for nothing, each man received a royal charter of manumission which proved that he was not only free of all feudal obligations but a free man in legal status, and this would apply to all his descendants to the end of time. For centuries the lawyers had been trying to prove that a lord could claim all the goods of a serf, so that it would be a concession to take only half. On the other hand, but for the grant to Lee, the tradition of bondage would have been forgotten in a generation or two, without any official manumission having taken place, as must have occurred in hundreds of cases all over the country. In this respect the descendants of serfs were unlucky to be "regardant of the Duchy of Lancaster."

After the grant to Sir Henry Lee there do not appear to have been any more large-scale enforcements of manumission, but isolated references to bondmen continue to recur occasionally as late as the beginning of the seventeenth century. Thereafter, England was a land of the legally free, in happy contrast to many continental countries where serfdom continued as a recognized institution well into the nineteenth century.[7]

W. H. HOSFORD

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 271.
[6] Quoted by E. K. Chambers, "Sir Henry Lee," 1936, p. 45.
[7] The existence of the document discussed in this article was first brought to my notice by my colleague Mr. M. W. Barley. I am also much indebted to Dr. R. Ashton of the Sub-Department of Economic History for his helpful advice.

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